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2 October 1984

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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2 October 1984

## CHINA REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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UNITED STATES

## U.S. TIGHTENS RESTRICTIONS ON TRAVEL TO CUBA

OW302018 Beijing XINHUA in English 1952 GMT 30 Aug 84

[Text] Washington, 30 August (XINHUA)--The United States has tightened the enforcement of curbs on travel to Cuba by investigating trips to Havana by scholars, journalists, lawyers and other professionals.

Administration officials said the government has subpoenaed the records of a New York travel agency that arranges most trips by Americans to Cuba.

According to the officials, the U.S. Treasury Department wants to examine the records of the Manhattan Travel Agency, Marazul Tours Inc, in New York, to see if the company and its customers, particularly scholars, journalists and lawyers, have abided by restrictions on tourist and business travel to Cuba that were established by the administration in 1982 and upheld in June by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The restrictions were designed to support a trade and financial embargo against Cuba. They bar ordinary tourist and business travel to Cuba to limit the Cuban Government's hard currency earnings from tourism.

The government investigation focuses on about 2,000 trips to Cuba by American scholars, journalists, lawyers and others who traveled under an exemption that permits visits for certain kinds of professional research and meetings.

One lawyer for Marazul called the government investigation "an outrageous intrusion."

The United States has imposed severe penalties for violation of the travel ban to Cuba which range from a fine of up to \$50,000 to a prison term of up to 10 years. The penalties are applicable to both travelers and those who arrange trips.

The investigation of Marazul and its customers signals a more aggressive effort by the administration to enforce the travel restrictions. The United States and Cuba are negotiating on the immigration issues for the first time since the Reagan administration took office 4 years ago. It is unclear whether there is any connection between the crackdown on travel to Cuba and the negotiations between the two countries.

CSO: 4000/448

UNITED STATES

U.S.-CUBAN IMMIGRATION ACCORD SAID PREMATURE

OW310827 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 31 Aug 84

[Text] Washington, 30 August (XINHUA)--The U.S. State Department said today it would be premature to speak of any agreement between the United States and Cuba on the immigration issue.

State Department spokesman John Hughes said the United States has been engaged in a serious effort to resolve the issue with Cuba and regards talks between the two countries as "serious and business like."

There have been two rounds of talks between the two sides in New York. No third round of talks has yet been scheduled.

But Hughes said there are "inaccuracies" in the WASHINGTON TIMES report today, which said that the United States and Cuba are close to an agreement in which Cuba would take back the 2,700 "marielitos" now held in American jails and mental institutions in return for a U.S. commitment to accept up to 30,000 political prisoners from Cuban jails.

The report also said it is possible an agreement will be reached by the end of September. It added that the two governments so far have discussed the United States acceptance of between 5,000 and 7,000 political prisoners a year once they have been screened to satisfy the U.S. that Cuban leader Fidel Castro is not merely sending out additional criminal or mentally unstable Cubans.

The report said that the U.S. administration "is particularly eager to resolve the status of the marielitos because some of those now imprisoned here have broken no U.S. laws, but they are considered 'excludable' under U.S. law. Others were jailed for breaking the law after arriving here."

CSO: 4000/448

UNITED STATES

JOBLESSNESS REMAINS MAJOR PROBLEM IN U.S. CITIES

OW310304 Beijing XINHUA in English 0245 GMT 31 Aug 84

[Text] Washington, 30 August (XINHUA)--Joblessness will remain a major problem in the American cities despite declining national unemployment rates, according to a June and July survey by the U.S. National League of Cities.

Nearly half the 388 cities responding to the survey reported unemployment rates above 8 percent; 82 cities--24 in the upper midwest--had rates above 10 percent. The national civilian unemployment rate for July was 7.5 percent.

The survey says over 60 percent of 388 cities listed unemployment as their top or high priority at present and suggested it would remain so in the future. "This shows that substantial and severe employment problems are widespread and not limited to a few communities," said Minneapolis Mayor Donald Fraser, chairman of the league's task force on urban unemployment.

Unemployment hits minority and blue-collar workers the hardest and most of them live in urban areas.

As the U.S. economy is largely transforming from smokestacks to services and high technology, "the findings of the survey point out the need for a strong and continuing effort at direct job creation, job training and economic development in our nation's cities," said Mayor Fraser.

CSO: 4000/448

UNITED STATES

SHULTZ FORESEES NO U.S.-USSR SPACE-ARMS TALKS

OW310936 Beijing XINHUA in English 0850 GMT 31 Aug 84

[Text] Washington, 30 August (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz acknowledged today that the proposed U.S.-Soviet space-arms control talks in Vienna next month now seem unlikely. "As far as we are concerned, we have responded affirmatively to their proposal and have not walked away from that," Shultz said in an interview with the Associated Press. But asked if there was any reason to think the Vienna talks, first proposed by the Soviet Union, would be held, Shultz said, "If I were a betting man, I wouldn't put a lot of money on it."

Shultz said he is willing to meet Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko at the UN General Assembly, which opens in New York in late September, but the Soviets haven't yet announced if Gromyko will attend the UN General Assembly session. He said he does not know whether the Soviets want to have better relations with the United States if Reagan is elected to a second term, but "They should want to have a constructive relationship with us." "We are prepared to work along those lines, and so the opportunity is there," he added.

Describing the strategy that Reagan has followed as "a good strategy," Shultz said, "we will continue to be ready to have a constructive relationship with them." Asked if a new initiative might be pursued, Shultz said, "The initiatives are all there...the channels are there. The channels are open. The question is whether they will be used more and be a broader range of topics."

CSO: 4000/448

UNITED STATES

SHULTZ, GROMYKO TO MEET AT UN 26 SEPTEMBER

OW070240 Beijing XINHUA in English 0218 GMT 7 Sep 84

[Text] Washington, 6 September (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will meet with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko in New York on 26 September when they are attending the UN General Assembly there, the U.S. State Department announced today.

State Department spokesman John Hughes told reporters here today Shultz will meet with a number of foreign officials including Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko during his stay in New York from 23 September to 5 October.

He declined to release the agenda for the meeting between Shultz and Gromyko or disclose what they will discuss.

But is believed here that Shultz and Gromyko will discuss the proposed U.S.-Soviet space-arms control talks in Vienna this month which now seems unlikely. The strategic arms negotiations, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and the Middle East.

If the meeting takes place according to plan, it will be the first high-level contact between the two countries since January this year when Shultz and Gromyko met briefly at the Stockholm conference on disarmament in Europe.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan will address the opening session of the UN General Assembly on 24 September. Reports said President Reagan might also meet with Gromyko at that time.

But White House spokesman Lary Speakes said it is premature to speak of a Reagan-Gromyko meeting before Shultz has met with the Soviet foreign minister.

CSO: 4000/448

UNITED STATES

## U.S. SCIENTISTS CRITICIZE 'STAR WARS' PROPOSAL

OW070913 Beijing XINHUA in English 0858 GMT 7 Sep 84

[Text] Washington, 6 September (XINHUA)--Two U.S. scientists said here yesterday that President Reagan's proposed "star wars" program could trigger a new and dangerous round of the arms race.

Sidney Krell, deputy director of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center at Stanford University, said the Reagan administration, in its fervor for a star wars defense program, runs the risk of violating the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty. That treaty--which bans testing of anti-missile weapons--"is at the base of efforts to approach stability, avoid nuclear war and achieve arms reductions," he added.

Krell also rejected the Reagan administration's argument that the star wars program would force the Soviet Union into arms control negotiations. He added, "if we do not succeed in first creating a strict arms control regime, which limits offensive weapons, the star wars initiative will be a catalyst for a new round of weapons rather than as a catalyst to make the world safer from nuclear weapons."

Meanwhile Professor Hans Bethe said yesterday at a conference on nuclear deterrence at the University of Maryland, that parts of the laser defense system "may possibly work" against a limited nuclear attack by the Soviet Union. But Bethe, a nobel prize-winning physicist from Cornell University, said it would also give the Soviet Union incentive to launch a full-scale nuclear strike.

These criticisms of the "star wars" proposal came 24 hours after President Reagan's assertion that it is the United States' "moral obligation" to develop an anti-missile system in space. Since Reagan made the proposal 18 months ago, the U.S. Government has proposed spending U.S. \$26 billion for star wars research during the next 5 years.

CSO: 4000/448



UNITED STATES

U.S. DEFENDS VETO OF UN DRAFT RESOLUTION

OW080749 Beijing XINHUA in English 0637 GMT 8 Sep 84

[Text] Washington, 7 September (XINHUA)--The U.S. State Department said here today that the U.S. veto on the UN Security Council draft resolution against Israel was made because the U.S. seeks "a realistic way" to solve the Lebanese issue.

Yesterday, the United States vetoed a security council draft resolution demanding that Israel immediately lift all restrictions and obstacles to the restoration of normal life in the areas in Lebanon under Israeli control. It called for strict respect for the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries.

Responding to a press inquiry on the U.S. veto, State Department spokesman John Hughes said his country "firmly supports" the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon but the U.S. "seeks a realistic way to achieve that goal."

He said the draft resolution failed to take into account certain other serious problems existing in Lebanon, and that the U.S. wants to see fair and balanced treatment of the issue, he said.

Speaking at a B'nai B'rith Convention yesterday in an effort to woo the Jewish vote for November's election, President Ronald Reagan reaffirmed the "common values, aspirations and interests" between the U.S. and Israel. He noted that the U.S. is making available the latest technology for the development of Israeli-designed fighter aircraft and a new missile attack boat. Reagan also said that U.S. aid to Israel in 1985, U.S. \$2.6 billion in total, will be entirely in the form of grants.

CSO: 4000/448

UNITED STATES

U.S. NOT TO IMPOSE COPPER IMPORT RESTRICTIONS

OW080246 Beijing XINHUA in English 0228 GMT 8 Sep 84

[Text] Washington, 7 September (XINHUA)--The U.S. Government has decided not to impose quotas or raise tariffs on the country's copper imports, according to American press reports today.

At a news conference Thursday, U.S. trade representative William E. Brock said that President Reagan determined that "import restrictions on copper are not in the overall national interest" of the United States.

Brock said that imposing restrictions on copper imports would raise copper prices in the U.S. and thus wipe out many domestic copper fabricator jobs.

He said that four times more jobs would be at risk than would be saved by restricting copper imports.

A quasijudicial federal agency--the international trade commission, recommended that the Reagan administration limit imports by either quotas or higher tariffs.

The American copper fabricating industries, however, voiced strong opposition to protectionist measures, contending that as many as 10,000 fabricator jobs could be lost if import quotas were imposed. These industries employ about 150,000 workers, a lot more than the 20,000 people working in copper mines.

Meanwhile, major copper exporting countries, such as Chile and Peru, have warned that protectionist measures in the United States would cause serious problems to the heavily-indebted Third World producers.

CSO: 4000/448

UNITED STATES

ADELMAN SAYS AGREEMENTS SPEED UP ARMS RACE

OW072024 Beijing XINHUA in English 1936 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Washington, 7 September (XINHUA)--A senior U.S. disarmament official acknowledged that the arms control agreements concluded thus far by the United States and the Soviet Union have not ended, but speeded up the arms race of the two countries.

Kenneth L. Adelman, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, made the remarks Thursday when he addressed the World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh.

He said, "to date, arms control results have been disappointing. The agreements concluded thus far have not greatly affected, much less ended, the strategic buildup. Quite the contrary, in fact. During the time of the Salt 1 and Salt 2 agreements, Soviet missile warheads quadrupled while U.S. missile warheads doubled. Even since Salt 2 was signed in 1979, the Soviets have added nearly 4,000 new ballistic missile warheads."

Adelman defended U.S. President Reagan's opposition to the nuclear freeze. He acknowledged that the nuclear freeze notion enjoys a lot of public support. "But most of that support swiftly turns to opposition if we cannot verify a freeze--which we cannot--or if a freeze would leave the Soviets ahead--which it would," he said.

Adelman blamed the Soviet Union for being "unwilling to engage in any real negotiations." He said, the United States eagerly awaits the Soviets to return to the nuclear arms talks, "but conventional wisdom tells us that the Soviets will stay away until our elections so as not to help the candidacy of Ronald Reagan."

CSO: 4000/448

UNITED STATES

U.S. EMBASSY OFFICIALS INVOLVED WITH MERCENARIES

OW081130 Beijing XINHUA in English 0858 GMT 8 Sep 84

["U.S. Embassy Officials' Involvement in Central American Conflicts Confirmed"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Washington, 7 September (XINHUA)--The U.S. State Department acknowledged today that U.S. Embassy officials in Central America have direct contact with a group of "private American citizens" who provide military equipment to the Salvadoran Armed Forces and the Honduran-based Nicaraguan rebels.

This coincides with today's NEW YORK TIMES reports that a number of U.S. military officers in El Salvador became actively involved last year in helping a group of "private Americans" donate military equipment to the Salvadoran Armed Forces.

The paper described the involvement as more extensive than previously reported. It included introducing the leader of the "private group" to the general staff of the Salvadoran Army, encouraging the Americans to send equipment, delivering the materiel to the Salvadoran Army and acting, in general, as a channel between the Americans and the Salvadorans.

The paper, attributing to the Pentagon documents, said much of the liaison work was handled by Maj Charles A. McAnarey, the chief U.S. logistics officer in El Salvador.

McAnarey was reportedly to have confirmed that he had forwarded nearly a dozen shipments to the Salvadoran Government after receiving them from Tom Posey, a former Marine in Alabama who heads a "civilian group" "dedicated to fighting communism in Central America."

But under U.S. federal law and Defense Department policy, American military officers are prohibited from acting in any capacity as an agent for a private organization or corporation.

CSO: 4000/448

UNITED STATES

U.S. DENIES INVOLVEMENT IN ANTI-SANDINIST ATTACK

OW050304 Beijing XINHUA in English 0250 GMT 5 Sep 84

[Text] Washington, 4 September (XINHUA)--The United States has denied that its government personnel took part in a rebel attack in Nicaragua last Saturday in which two Americans were killed when their helicopter was downed by the Nicaraguan Government forces.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said yesterday that no U.S. Government personnel were involved in the attack.

According to press reports, an administration official traveling with President Reagan on a campaign swing through California said, "we had absolutely no association with this mission."

The official, who refused to be identified, described the two Americans as part of a group of seven U.S. citizens who had arrived in Honduras last week and "volunteered" to help U.S.-backed rebels in their fight to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government.

Nicaragua said Sunday the helicopter was shot down and three airplanes had attacked a military training school, 20 miles from the Honduran border.

Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega told a press conference in Managua yesterday that the identification of the men as "volunteers" with no U.S. Government ties was "a tale no one is going to believe." He called them "CIA mercenaries."

The two men are believed to be the first Americans killed in Nicaragua since President Reagan 3 years ago approved funding for a "secret war" against the Nicaragua Government.

It is known that American intelligence personnel have been closely involved in training anti-sandinist rebels and planning their missions. However, U.S. administration officials have repeatedly assured Congress that no U.S. personnel have been directly involved in the fighting.

CSO: 4000/448

UNITED STATES

WHITE HOUSE REACTS TO COURT RULING ON EL SALVADOR

OW311024 Beijing XINHUA in English 0900 GMT 31 Aug 84

[Text] Washington, 30 August (XINHUA)--The United States said today that the administration's program on El Salvador will not be affected by the court ruling voiding President Ronald Reagan's pocket veto of a bill on providing military aid to El Salvador.

The U.S. Court of Appeals, in a 2-1 judgment yesterday, ruled that President Reagan acted illegally last November when he used "pocket veto" to kill a bill linking military aid to El Salvador with progress in protecting human rights in that country.

White House spokesman Robert Sims said fiscal 1984 appropriations for El Salvador will not be affected and termed the case a "legal question."

State Department spokesman John Hughes also told reporters that "the court's decision will not affect the El Salvador program."

He said the bill would have continued the conditionality required under the 1981 certification statute until the end of fiscal year 1984 or until the Congress enacted new legislation imposing conditions on military assistance to El Salvador.

The U.S. Constitution requires the president to sign or veto a bill within 10 days from the time it is put before him by the Congress. If he fails to sign it or veto it and return it to the Congress within the time, it becomes law--if the Congress is in session; but it dies if the Congress is not in session when the deadline passes.

However, the court ruling means that the bill is now law despite Reagan's veto.

CSO: 4000/448

UNITED STATES

U.S. NEGOTIATOR ON STRATEGIC ARMS TALKS

OWO60154 Beijing XINHUA in English 0142 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Washington, 5 September (XINHUA)--Chief U.S. arms negotiator Edward Rowny said today that he is convinced that "it is not a question of 'if' but 'when'" the Soviets will return to the strategic arms negotiating table.

According to a State Department press release here, the 10-year veteran of nuclear arms negotiations with Moscow told the American Legion's National Convention in Salt Lake City, Utah, that the Soviets "have always acted in their own interest" and for that reason they will return to the negotiating table.

Rowny said that both the United States and the Soviet Union share "an historic opportunity" to reverse the accumulation of nuclear arsenals on both sides.

Rowny said that contrary to the general perception, strategic arms negotiations have made far more progress than is generally recognized or acknowledged before the Soviets left the table last December.

The ambassador explained that the United States altered its proposals in several important ways in early 1983 to meet Soviet concerns.

He concluded that the United States can reach a good arms control agreement with the Soviets if it remains "patient, reasonable and firm."

"If all we wanted is an agreement for agreement's sake, I can assure you I could have brought one home in 1983. But I, like President Reagan, want real arms control, real reductions, a real reduction of the threat of nuclear war," he said.

However, observers here believed that Rowny's remarks are aimed at lessening the fears of American voters that the arms talks deadlock would increase the danger of a nuclear war.

CSO: 4000/448

## UNITED STATES

### BRIEFS

NAVAL READINESS DISCUSSED--Washington, 31 August (XINHUA)--The United States must show that it has the will to stand up to the Soviet Union "when we are challenged," and President Reagan will use "appropriate military force" whenever it is needed to achieve American goals, U.S. Navy Secretary John Lehman said today. "This is a strategic change of great significance," Lehman said in a speech to Jewish war veterans of the United States. "The world is beginning to realize that there is a new strength of will in America, a desire once again to face our potential adversaries from a position of strength and determination." Lehman said the American naval fleet is more ready now than it was when Reagan took office, and he defended the U.S. Navy's goal of 600-ships. He said that in 1981, the U.S. fleet was at half the size and 80 percent of the tonnage it had reached 10 years ago. It was able to function only "in the Atlantic or the Pacific or the Indian Ocean but not in all three." "The qualitative and quantitative transformation of the Soviet fleet required a wholesale revision of American naval strategy," the navy secretary declared. [Text] [OW010804 Beijing XINHUA in English 0741 GMT 1 Sep 84]

U.S. ELECTION, CUBAN RELATIONS -Havana, 8 September (XINHUA)--Cuban Vice President of the State Council Carlos Rafael Rodriguez said here today that the U.S. respect for Cuba's right of self-determination will be in the best interest of the mutual understanding between the two countries. Rodriguez told a group of visiting U.S. journalists that a reelection of U.S. President Ronald Reagan itself will not become an obstacle to the U.S.-Cuban negotiations, neither will it lead to improvement of their relations. All depends on Reagan's action, he added. Referring to the Central American problems, Rodriguez said the disputes in Central America cannot be settled by means of force. He reaffirmed the Cuban Government's support for the Contadora group's stand which calls for a peaceful solution to the problems in the region. [Text] [OW091535 Beijing XINHUA in English 1453 GMT 9 Sep 84]

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON SOUTH AFRICA--Lusaka, 8 September (XINHUA)--The United States and Angola in a joint communique here today expressed their desire to facilitate a peaceful settlement of the issues in Southern Africa and reaffirmed their commitments to the peace process here. The communique was signed by U.S. Assistant Secretary for African Affairs C. Crocker and Angolan Interior Minister A. Rodrigues. They met here on 6 and 7 September to continue their dialogue on bilateral and regional questions of mutual interest, particularly seeking a solution to Namibia's independence. Observers here noticed that since South Africa insists on linking Namibian independence with the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola and South African troops still stay in southern Angola, negotiations on the Namibian issue have come to a deadlock. [Text] [OW081854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1832 GMT 8 Sep 84]



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SETTING TIME LIMIT FOR HANDLING CRIMINAL CASES URGED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 9 Jul 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Strictly Implement Regulations on Time Limits for Handling Criminal Cases"]

[Text] The "Supplementary Regulations on Time Limits for the Handling of Criminal Cases," passed by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, form a necessary supplement to the relevant provisions of the Criminal Procedure Law and solve problems that presented themselves in practice. The promulgation and enforcement of the "Supplementary Regulations" will play an important role for the further strengthening of the socialist legal system and protection of the human rights of our citizens. They will encourage energetic efforts on the part of all public security, procuratorial and judicial organs to improve their work and their efficiency in handling cases.

The public security, procuratorial and judicial organs suffered serious damage from the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing during the 10 years of turmoil. Practical difficulties were therefore experienced in the first years after implementation of the Criminal Procedure Law, such as, for instance, a shortage of personnel to handle all cases, and the inability to handle all cases completely within the prescribed time limits. With this in mind, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress has twice passed resolutions permitting in certain cases, under specially prescribed circumstances and after approval according to legal procedure, to appropriately extend the time limits for the handling of these cases. The condition of the public security, procuratorial and judicial organs has now greatly improved. Practical experience has proved that the great majority of cases can be concluded within the time limits; the time limits for handling cases as stipulated in the Criminal Procedure Law are appropriate. The present "Supplementary Regulations" therefore demand that, in general, criminal cases must be handled strictly according to the time limits prescribed in the Criminal Procedure Law. Only in an extremely small number of special cases may the time limits be appropriately extended according to legal procedure. This demand is consistent with the actual conditions of today and is absolutely practicable.

The question of time limits for handling criminal cases is linked to the major problem of protecting the rights of citizens and improving efficiency

in handling cases. If citizens are investigated because of suspicion of having committed crimes, especially if they have been arrested, they and their families suffer great mental pressure, with possibly also adverse effects on their family's production and livelihood. A most speedy clarification and early conclusion of their cases is therefore a necessity. It would be against the principle of protecting the rights of the citizens, if a person is held in prison for too long during his investigation and trial, to be possibly found not guilty or to be sentenced for a minor crime. When handling criminal cases, the public security, procuratorial and judicial organs must therefore as far as possible shorten the time of handling such cases. Especially cases of crimes that seriously endanger the public security of society must still be dealt with according to law with the greatest severity and utmost speed and according to the "Resolution on the Procedure for the Speedy Trial of Criminal Elements That Seriously Endanger the Public Security of Society," passed by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. In this respect, the solution of the following problems must receive particular attention:

First, the investigation work preceding the arrest of a criminal must be effectively strengthened. When arresting a criminal, the provisions of article 40 of the Criminal Procedure Law must be strictly observed. Only if the conditions for an arrest are given may the arrest be carried out. Arrests are not to be carried out in all cases where the main facts of a crime have not been clarified, or where an offense will not demand a sentence of imprisonment or a more severe penalty, or where other methods, such as setting the accused free on a guarantee pending trial, or residential surveillance, may be adopted. Such methods as first arresting a suspect and then starting the investigation, or having the trial take the place of an investigation, practices that have occurred in certain places, must be amended. If a man has been arrested and no danger to society has become apparent during his investigation, prosecution or trial, he may also, instead of remaining arrested, be set free on guarantee pending trial or have residential surveillance ordered. The periods of detention must be shortened as far as possible.

Second, the work of obtaining evidence during the investigation must be effectively improved. As to the basic facts and basic evidence to decide guilt or innocence, the nature of the crime and the measure of the penalty, a conscientious investigation is absolutely necessary to establish the clear facts of the case and the complete accuracy and reliability of the evidence. One must abstain from involvement in minor matters that would not have any influence on the measure of the penalty, so as to avoid pedantic overelaboration.

Third, the public security, procuratorial and judicial organs must each attend to its own duties and each bear its own responsibility, handling cases strictly according to the authority and procedure laid down in the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Law. In the course of handling cases, repeated deliberations must be reduced, and it is even less permissible to leave cases undecided through protracted deliberations. One must oppose and guard

against the mutual shifting of responsibilities and the mutual wrangling over trifles, so as to avoid stalling and delaying.

A particularly important point is the strengthening of the concept of the legal system; strict enforcement of the provisions on time limits for handling cases is an important aspect of handling cases according to law. Some comrades say: "It will do as long as we don't make any mistakes; who cares about time limits." That is wrong. In handling cases it is essential to observe strictly the Criminal Procedure Law and the "Supplementary Regulations" that have now been passed by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. While guaranteeing the quality of our handling of cases, we must as far as possible improve efficiency in handling cases and handle all criminal cases faster and better.

9808

CSO: 4005/790

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RENMIN RIBAO ON PUBLICATIONS, FOREIGN TRADE, TOURISM

#### Publishing Work Developed Rapidly

HK041212 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 84 p 1

["Facts and Figures" column: "Publishing Work Is Unprecedentedly Flourishing"--compiled with data of the State Statistical Bureau]

[Text] Over the past 5 years China's publishing work has developed rapidly. In 1983 the country had 292 publishing houses (of this, 132 were at the central level), an increase of 175 over 1978 (when only 73 were at the central level).

In 1983 there were 35,700 publications in China, a rise of 140 percent over 1978. The total volume published amounted to 22.96 billion printed pages, 70.6 percent more than in 1978. Textbooks rose by 25.6 percent, other books by 132.2 percent, and picture books by 40.1 percent. Best sellers were books of philosophy, social science, culture, education and juvenile books. In 1983 the average rate of books (the volume published) for every individual in the country was 5.7 books, a growth of 1.8 books over 1978. Nevertheless, the total volume and quality of published books still cannot meet the needs of the reading public. In 1983 there were 3,415 different magazines, a jump of 270 percent over 1978, and the total volume published amount to 5.25 billion printed sheets, an increase of 130 percent over 1978. The average rate of magazines for every individual in the country in 1983 increased to 173 from 79 in 1978.

In 1983 the country's provinces published more than 340 different newspapers, a rise of 283 over 1978, or 5 times as many as in 1978. Meanwhile, there were 82 different general newspapers (10 at the central level and 72 at the local level). The circulation for every issue of a newspaper at the provincial level was 96.113 million on average, an increase of 58.578 million over 1978, or a rise of 160 percent. The total volume published amounted to 14.27 billion printed sheets, a jump of 37.3 percent over 1978.

#### Trade With Other Countries Increasing

HK270431 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 84 p 1

["Facts and Figures" column: "Economic Trade With Foreign Countries on the Increase"]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the economic policy introduced by our country of opening up to the world and

enlivening things at home has brought still greater vitality to economic trade with foreign countries. According to statistics provided by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, total import and export trade doubled in the 5 years 1979 to 1983, imports averaging an annual increase of 14.6 percent and exports an annual increase of 17.9 percent. This rate of growth exceeded not only the average growth of total industrial and agricultural output value in the corresponding period but also the growth of world export trade in the same period. Among the exporting countries of the world, our country has risen from 32d to 16th place.

At present, our country has established economic trade relations with more than 170 countries and regions in the world. Total import and export trade also rose from \$1.14 billion in 1950 to \$40.7 billion in 1983, an increase of 3,500 percent.

With the development of industrial and agricultural production, the mix of our exports commodities has also undergone changes. In 1950, as far as our country's export commodities were concerned, agricultural and sideline products and processed goods accounted for 90.7 percent of the total export volume, and there were less than 10,000 kinds of export commodities. In 1983, the number of kinds of export commodities rose to 50,000, industrial and mineral products representing 57.4 percent of total export volume. Crude oil and oil product exports alone, which reached more than 20 million tons, yielding \$4.3 billion in foreign exchange, accounted for 19.5 percent of our country's total export volume. Commodities each worth more than \$0.1 billion in export value totaled 35 kinds. Forty kinds of commodities ranked first, in world export volumes.

In the 5 years 1979 to 1983, our total volume of imported commodities reached \$90.7 billion, of which imported technology and equipment accounted for \$21 billion, grain and commodities for agricultural use \$18 billion, and various household electric appliances \$0.95 billion.

In the past 5 years, our country has taken a gratifying step forward in bringing in foreign capital and technology. Foreign capital actually put to use in various forms reached \$14.6 billion, with 597 items of advanced technology and equipment imported, making up for the deficiency in construction funds. This accelerated the building of key projects and the technical transformation of existing enterprises. Our international economic and technical cooperation has also shown new development. By the end of 1983, our country had entered into cooperation with 67 countries and regions in regard to contracted projects and offers of labor, with 1,358 contracts signed amounting to \$2.17 billion. Joint-venture enterprises set up abroad numbered 65, with a total investment of \$0.1 billion.

## Boom in Tourism

HK290916 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 84 p 1

["Facts and Figures" column based on data provided by the China Travel and Tourism Bureau: "Tourism Holds Out Great Promise"]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our tourism industry has shown continuous growth.

### A Sharp Increase in the Number of People Received

In the 6 years from 1978 to 1983, the total number of foreigners, Overseas Chinese, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, and so forth coming to our country on sightseeing tours and on visits to relatives reached more than 36.94 million. The number of people received in 1983 was five times that in 1978. Total foreign exchange receipts in the 6 years exceeded \$3.9 billion. In the first half of this year, tourism showed a continuous boom. The total number of people visiting China exceeded 5.65 million, an increase of 28 percent compared with the corresponding period last year.

### Increasingly Perfect Tourist Facilities

From 1978 to 1983, the state investment in tourism exceeded 400 million yuan. The investment was in the establishment of restaurants, automobile purchases, repairs to scenic spots, and the training of skilled personnel. At the end of 1983, the whole country had 318 hotels for tourists with more than 52,000 guest rooms and 123.8 beds. Of these hotels, foreign capital accounted for 17.

### Development and Maintenance of Tourist Areas

With the development of tourism, the state has accelerated the development and exploitation of tourist resources and stepped up maintenance and repair efforts in scenic spots. In the past few years, the special highway running from Beijing to Badaling was built; the place where the statues of warriors of the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty, Qin Shi Huang, were found was opened to the public; tourist attractions in Guilin and Suzhou were improved upon; and the "Yaolin Wonderland" Lava Caves of Hangzhou and the Chengde Mountain Villa for escaping the heat were repaired and touched up. In addition, the well-known Yueyang Tower and Huanghe Tower were restored, and access paths for sightseers were built in such well-known mountains as Huangshan, Lushan, Emei, Wuyi, Putuo, Yandang, and so forth, and in other scenic places with strangely shaped "stone forests." A modern high-mountain cableway for tourists was built in Taishan. After several years of operation, the Three Gorges of the Changjiang River, the "Silk Road," the ancient canal, and other tourist routes have become quite strong tourist attractions.

### Employment Provided for Large Numbers of People

The development of tourism has provided employment opportunities for workers. According to incomplete statistics in 1982, the number of workers for the

tourist system of the whole country exceeds 60,000. This figure does not take into account 50,000 workers in hotels, which are not under the tourist departments but which also take care of tourists.

#### Train Skilled Personnel and Strengthen Management

To accelerate the training of first-class interpreters and tourism-related managers, Shanghai built its first special tourism college in 1979. Since then, Hangzhou University, Nankai University, Northwest University, and Dalian Foreign Language College have successively established tourism departments or provided majors in tourism. The tourist departments or provided majors in tourism. The tourist departments in Beijing, Jiangsu, Sichuan, Hubei and other areas have also set up special secondary tourism schools. In the past 5 years, the Tourism Bureau has also sent a number of people to foreign countries and to Hong Kong to take special courses in tourism-related management and administration.

CSO: 4005/876

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MEETING DISCUSSES BUSINESSES SHOWING VIDEOTAPES

HK211341 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1230 GMT 17 Aug 84

[Text] From 13 to 15 August, the provincial broadcasting and television department held an investigation meeting on engaging in business in showing videotapes. At the meeting, all prefectures and cities reported the situation in the development of business in showing videotapes at the previous stage, exchanged experiences in control work, and studied and discussed views on further strengthening control.

While studying and discussing the problems of control over business in showing videotapes, representatives at the meeting put forward: It is necessary to correctly understand the relationship between untying the rope and control work. Business in showing videotapes must develop in a guided, planned, and systematic way and must be mainly done by cultural broadcasting, television, and propaganda departments and affiliated organizations. When other departments and affiliated organizations do this business, control should be strictly exercised. When undertakings operated by individuals request doing this business, they can carry out pilot projects to sum up experiences. Those who engage in business in showing videotapes must be subject to approval by the audio and videotape administrative department. Those who do business without licenses must be resolutely banned. The contents shown must be strictly limited within the scope stipulated by the state. It is strictly prohibited to disseminate absurd and obscene contents of videotapes. As soon as they are discovered, they must immediately be prohibited, destroyed, or confiscated.

Regarding the nature and tasks of business in showing videotapes, it was proposed that business in showing videotapes must be geared to the needs of basic levels and rural areas. This business must be carried on within the particular prefecture and is not allowed in other prefectures and provinces. In calculating charges, it is necessary to adhere to the principle of adding costs to small profits.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

KANG KEQING WISHES 'CHINA WOMEN'S PAPER' SUCCESS

HK280856 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Aug 84 p 1

[Report by Zhang Anhui [1728 1344 1920]: "Kang Keqing Presides Over Forum on How to Make a Success of the Paper 'ZHONGGUO FUNU BAO'"]

[Text] The paper ZHONGGUO FUNU BAO, with an inscription written by Comrade Deng Xiaoping for the title of the paper, will start publication in October this year. On 20 August Kang Keqing, chairman of All-China Women's Federation, sponsored a forum on how to make a success of the paper. Those who were invited to attend it included figures of press and publishing circles of the capital of the country, women experts and scholars, workers for women and children, and comrades in charge of the departments concerned.

In their speeches at the forum, well-known women writers Ding Ling, Cao Ming and Wei Junyi expressed the hope that the paper "FUNU BAO" would publish more short and vivid news reports and articles in a new style and would not appear as a magazine. Ding Ling said: The most important thing for women is how to foster lofty ideals. Now some girls nitpick boy friends, who must be handsome and have a height of 1.7 or 1.8 meters, and have many demands on their marriage, such as a certain number of coupons and many pieces of furniture. The paper FUNU BAO should be bold in touching on problems concerning the general mood of society, and even commenting on something unhealthy in films and on stage.

When Xu Weicheng, deputy secretary of Beijing City's CPC Committee, and Fang Xiang, deputy head of Beijing City's Research Institute for Marriage and Family Life, took the floor at the forum, they pointed out: Male supremacy in marriage, pampering of single children by parents and some other problems should be regarded as the content of our propaganda to women. Zhong Peizhang, head of the Information Office of the Propaganda Department under the CPC Central Committee, also spoke at the meeting.

CSO: 4005/876

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RENMIN RIBAO DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF AGING

HK310840 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 84 p 5

[Article by Wu Cangping [6762 3318 5493]: "Problems of Old Age and Our Countermeasures"]

[Text] Starting From Now, We Must Take the Problem of Old Age Seriously

The problem of old age is one of universal concern in today's world. It consists of two broad areas: First, the material and spiritual needs resulting from the physical and mental characteristics of old people, and all their specific traits; and second, the issue of the mutual relationship between the aged population and socioeconomic development, which is essentially the problem of ageing. These two problems are both related differently.

Looking at China's population situation today, it would seem rather premature to discuss the problem of ageing right now. However, it must be noted that the number of old people and the speed at which their proportion in the whole population is increasing is higher than ever before in our history. At present, there are nearly 80 million people 60 or above in China's urban and rural areas, and 50 billion over 65, making us the country with the most old people in the world, nearly as many as the United States and the Soviet Union put together. During the 18 years between the second and third population censuses, the over-60 and over-65 populations increased 82 percent and 100 percent respectively, an annual increase rate of 3.4 percent and 3.9 percent respectively, far exceeding the overall population increase. Certain provinces and cities, meanwhile, now have or nearly have an aged population.

Abroad, the age problem is normally acute in developed regions, with the population ageing process increasing gradually over more than a century. The ageing process of our population is happening far more quickly than theirs. As a big, economically backward country, we have not much experience to draw on in facing the challenge of the age problem. We must actively sum up our experiences, and start taking the problem seriously from right now.

### Understanding the Old Age Problem Scientifically

Are the speedy growth of the aged population and the ageing of the population an obstacle to social progress? How should we understand the problem of

China's ageing population? Only through coming to understand the laws of social development can we come to a scientific explanation.

First, we must look at the population age dialectically. With the development of the forces of production, and the advance of society, the economy, culture and health and education, not only do people live longer but their health is much better. Entering his later years, a person is simply entering a new stage in his life, but a person's physiological years and his years in age do not increase at the same rate. It has been recognized both in developed countries and in China that the health standards of many of today's 60- and 70-year-olds is almost the same as that of 40- and 50-year-olds in the past; some are even healthier. Many countries and international organs today take 65 as the dividing line for old age, which reflects the physiological advance of mankind. As to the different retirement ages designated by different countries, this is not decided purely on the basis of physiological years, but is affected by all sorts of socioeconomic factors, such as employment, wages, work coefficients, productivity, and so on.

Second, we must look at the role of old people from a historical point of view. Old people represent some of the riches and natural resources of society; they are not purely consumers, still less can they be considered merely a burden on society. This is because old people have rich knowledge, experience and specialized skills, including their experiences of success and their lessons of failure, which they can teach to later generations, inspiring mankind and guaranteeing the survival and smooth development of society.

Again, the care of the elderly represents the duty of society, and a responsibility of the younger generation. Leaving aside any discussion of the family, society or morals, purely from an economic point of view, the material and spiritual production carried out by today's working population constitutes a continuation and development on the basis of the material and spiritual wealth and specialized skills created by old people in the past. Caring for old people is in fact a way of paying them after the event for the fruits of their past labor and their foundation work in the social cause, and at the same time a form of "repayment" for them having looked after elderly people when they were young.

Lastly, old people must carry on taking responsibility for social development. With the improvement of their health, old people remain in society for a considerable length of time after retiring. During this time, society must give old people a sense of their social value, while old people should consciously take part in social activities through different channels, promoting social development. On the other hand, old people must be aware of the fact that the younger generation experiences difficulties in taking on an ever increasing burden of an aging society. The program for solving the old age problem must both increase possibilities for social development and be acceptable to the younger generation in order that it may be carried out effectively.

#### The Challenge Presented to Social Development by the Ageing of the Population

The daily ageing of the population is a new problem faced by mankind today, and its effect upon social development is not yet entirely clear. But it does present new challenges in the following spheres:

1) A challenge to labor productivity, economic growth rates, and the application of new science and technology. The ageing process may perhaps make this population tend toward conservatism and a slowness in accepting new science and technology. An ageing in the population is bound to produce an older workforce, which may produce a drop in labor productivity.

2) New problems associated with the employment ratio and work coefficient. As the population gets older, the burden of old people on working-age people will increase, which cannot but give rise to a series of problems concerning labor employment. For instance, the highest and lowest working ages, re-employment after retirement, modes of employment, working hours, working days and worker training, adult education, old people's education, and so on.

3) There will also be a series of new problems concerning the redistribution and use of the national income, along with the corresponding administrative system. When society takes on the responsibility for looking after old people, no matter what form its caring takes, whether it be retirement benefits, labor insurance, public health, collective health, social welfare, social emergency provisions, or other services, it all comes from the national income. With the increase in the older population, this expenditure will take up more and more of the national income, and if its proportion is too large it will affect expanded reproduction and the improvement of the life of the rest of the population. This problem touches on consumption and accumulation and the ratio between them, the distribution of finances, the financial system, the distribution and use of the common welfare funds and public accumulation funds under the collective ownership system, public health care methods, and the distribution and use of various enterprise funds.

4) The consumption patterns of old people will put new demands on the production and economic structure. Due to their physiological and other traits, many of the needs of old people are different from those of other populations, for example their needs in terms of food, clothes, daily necessities and accommodation are different from those of younger people and children; and old people have even more special requirements in terms of healthcare and livelihood services. As the proportion of old people in the population gets increasingly high, their consumption structure is bound to affect the commodity structure, the commerce structure and the employment structure.

In additions, the ageing of the population will produce a series of new social problems, such as the number of single and widowed people and their increasing proportion, the fact that society and the younger generation will have to take care of even more old people, the more complex relations between the generations in the home, the contradictions between the different needs of different age-groups in the population in the process of satisfying society's needs, and so on.

#### Controlling Population Growth and Guarding Against Excessive Ageing in the Population

The process of ageing in a population depends on the death rate and birth rate of that population (we will leave aside in this article the effect of popula-

tion migration). If the death rate drops, a rise in life expectancy rate will lead to an ageing of the population, but this is by no means the main thing. Because in general, a fall in the mortality rate is due to a fall in the child mortality rate, with the result that more children and young people survive, meaning in turn that the population actually gets younger. Only if there is a drop in the mortality rate in the older age-group will this lead directly to a growth in the absolute numbers of old people and a consequent rise in their ratio to the whole population. For over a century now, the experience of population development in developed countries has proved that a drop in the birth rate is the decisive factor in quickening the ageing of the population. A drop in the birth rate is bound to lead to an ageing population. The efforts in China at present to control the population growth will also quicken this ageing process. For this reason, population control would take into account and excessive ageing in the population should be guarded against.

Some people overemphasize the gravity of population ageing, with the implication that we should relax population control right now. This is highly inappropriate. First, the over-60 age-group in 1982 accounted for 7.64 percent of the total population, lower than France in 1788, Sweden in 1860 and Britain in 1910, which shows that China's population is still very young. Second, relaxing family planning now means no longer fighting to achieve the goal of no more than 1.2 billion people by the end of the century, and to do this would mean failing to suit the interests of the Chinese people. Third, relaxing family planning would by no means play much of a role in ameliorating the ageing problem, neither could it stop us from beginning to become an old population by the end of the century. Of course, it is also one-sided to consider only the control of population numbers while ignoring the problem of ageing.

Given the real situation in China, our task at present lies primarily in controlling population numbers, while at the same time considering how to avoid overageing in the population. We must find a quantitative limit which is right for both population numbers and the extent of population ageing.

#### The Key to Solving China's Ageing Problem Lies in Raising Labor Productivity

Population ageing is different from the ageing of an individual. Individual ageing is regulated by physiological laws, and it is impossible to reverse the process and become a child again. Population ageing is subject to the laws of population science, and a population can be made younger by increasing the birthrate, and gradually increasing the ratio of babies and youngsters. However, making the population younger in this way is by no means the path to solving China's age problem, because increasing the number of young people and their ratio by no means reduces the burden of old people on society, but rather increases its burden of raising young people, creating a no-win situation.

What worries people most about the ageing of the population is the constant increase in the burden on the working-age population of old people. Given a fixed number of old people, the ways to lighten the burden are: First, to raise the employment rate of the working-age population (or expanding the employment base); and second, for old people to continue working. When the

employed population is able to produce several times more goods than needed by each individual, the burden differential will increase 100 or 200 percent, and the burden on the working-age population will be greatly relaxed.

At the same time, only if labor productivity is raised can society provide old people with all the goods and services they need. Old people need more health-care, welfare, and protection than other age-groups, and low labor productivity will mean that society is only just able to support its population, and will have great difficulty in satisfying old people's material needs, services, and healthcare requirements.

Production growth and the raising of labor productivity creates the material conditions for solving the age problem; this is important, but not enough. In general, children and young people rely on the home to look after them, while old people will come to rely more and more heavily on society. Therefore, solving China's age problem will entail fully exploiting the advantages of the socialist system.

CSO: 4005/876

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BANYUETAN ARTICLE LAUDS PLA ACHIEVEMENTS

HK210823 Beijing BANYUETAN in Chinese No 14, 25 Jul 84 pp 3-6

[Article by Editorial Department: "The People's Armed Forces with Brilliant Feats--Fifth Talk on the Current Situation in Celebration of the 35th Anniversary of the PRC Founding"]

[Text] Since the founding of the PRC, the PLA has made great contributions to the people in the struggles to defend the people's democratic dictatorship, to defend and participate in socialist revolution and construction, to realize national reunification, and to prevent imperialist and hegemonist aggression.

During the initial post-liberation period, the PLA launched strategic pursuit and battles of annihilation against the KMT remnant troops and triumphantly entered Xizang, thus accomplishing the great cause of unifying mainland China; in the new liberated areas, the PLA launched large-scale struggles to suppress the bandits and wiped out 2.4 million bandits and secret agents, thus putting down banditry; and in 1950, the PLA formed the Chinese People's Volunteers to aid Korea and fought side by side with the Korean people's army to defeat the most vicious U.S. imperialists. Since the 1960's, the PLA frontier guards have safeguarded China's sovereignty and territorial integrity by fighting the war of self-defense at the border on several occasions under compulsion. Along with the change of the historical mission, the PLA has entered the new period of modernized and regularized building and the "great wall of steel" of our motherland now stands like a giant in the East.

#### The Mighty and Splendid Combined Armed Forces

On the basis of a unitary ground force, the PLA has, in the last 35 years, built up its navy, air force, artillery, armored force, antichemical warfare corps, signal corps, and strategic missile troops and has swiftly developed into a combined armed force consisting of various arms and services. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and particularly since Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of the work of the Military Commission, a series of new major policy decisions has been put forth for army building, the whole army has made great efforts with earnest enthusiasm and initiative to build a powerful modernized and regularized revolutionary army, and the PLA has victoriously shifted the focal point of its work by adhering to and developing Mao Zedong's military thought in practice. Through the measures

of simplification, reorganization, and restructuring adopted in the past few years, the army has, in its establishment and system, made strenuous efforts to enhance the combination of various arms and services and has advanced toward the goal of making itself more rational, more scientific, and more capable of adapting to modern warfare. Now the ground force, the navy, and the air force have effected a great change in training and commanding. According to the principle of training better and combined troops, combining peacetime training with war preparedness, and enhancing efficiency, they have regarded the training of joint tactical operation of various arms and services as the central task, have strengthened exercises conducted under nuclear conditions, and have enhanced the capability of quick reaction, coordinated action, electronic resistance, logistics assurance, and field survival of the troops.

A large scale military exercise carried out in autumn 1981 at a certain locality in the northeast manifested the great achievements attained by the PLA in enhancing the combat effectiveness of the combined armed troops and in using modern tactical operations to deal with enemies. The fighters circling in the sky effectively controlled the air. The attack planes dive-bombed and launched missiles to aid the ground forces in destroying the "enemy" defense works. The airborne force landed with the suddenness of a thunderbolt, outflanked the "enemy" on the rear, cut off the "enemy" retreat, destroyed the "enemy" supplies and gear, and joined the ground force to form into an attack force as a whole. The accurate and timely coordination between various arms and services fully demonstrated the might of the combined armed troops.

The modernization of weaponry is an important indication of the modernization of national defense. The development of our weaponry underwent the course from capturing enemy weapons to importing foreign weapons, from imitating to making designs of our own, and from producing unitary weapons for the infantry to manufacturing combined weapons for various arms and services. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and along with the development of the national economy, scientific research and industry of the national defense have developed vigorously, our weaponry has been further modernized, and we have manufactured a large number of new guns, tanks, armored cars, airplanes, naval vessels, different types of missiles, and some new kinds of electronic, communications, engineering and antichemical arms to equip our troops. Apart from enormously strengthening its firepower, assault force, mobility, defense force and quick reaction, the PLA now possess medium and long range nuclear missiles for self-defense and has the ability of launching strategic nuclear counter-attack.

With the rapid development of science and technology in the world, microcomputer technology has been widely applied in the PLA's command of modern warfare, peacetime training, logistic service, work of the leading organs, and various other fields.

An entirely new sort of anti-airborne exercise is under progress. Following the appearance of figures on the screen and the sounds of the keyboard, the red and green light from the indicators enhance each other. With the transmission of six different kinds of automatic electronic instruments, the army and division headquarters, although tens of kilometers apart, are devising



strategies and schemes as if they are working face to face in the same room. The terrain, paths, and soldiers' movements at the forward position are reflected on the screen in front of the commanders. It is just like commanding triumphant battles a hundred li away. Microcomputer technology has given full play to its "miraculous" role.

#### Historical Changes Have Taken Place in the Structure of the Cadre Ranks

Along with the modernization and regularization of the PLA, the whole army has attached greater importance to knowledge and intellectuals. Large numbers of cadres who have a high degree of political consciousness, who have mastered advanced military thought and modern scientific knowledge, and who can appropriately wield modern weaponry are steadily maturing.

Historical changes have taken place in the structure of the army cadre ranks since the readjustment of the leading bodies at the army, divisional, regimental levels in 1983. There are now more experts in the leading bodies, their average age is younger, their education level is higher, and they can better suit the needs of the building of modernization of the army. At present, the average age of the leading bodies at the army level has dropped by 7.9 years over the pre-readjustment period, the youngest army commander is 44, and the youngest division commander is only 33. The members of the combat troops at the army level who have undergone training in the military academies account for 87.8 percent of the total. The commanders of the military district or army of the air force are cadres who can operate airplanes and also command the troops. In the leading bodies of the army and divisions of the ground forces, there are cadres who are familiar with infantry and also commanders who are familiar with tank forces and artillery troops, which is suitable for the combined operations and training of various arms and services and can develop toward the direction of combined armed troops.

In order to meet the needs of training talented people for the modernization of our army, the military academies have made great progress in both construction scale and training system, have formed into an integrated system for training cadres, and have become important bases for training all kinds of cadres for different levels and providing a backbone for army building.

The work of training people who are useful to both the army and localities has been universally carried out throughout the army in recent years, which enormously aroused the enthusiasm of the cadres and soldiers in acquiring scientific and general knowledge and conscientiously tempering themselves into skillful people.

#### Carry Forward the Fine Tradition

The PLA has had a fine revolutionary tradition, which has been carried forward since the founding of the PRC. The great communist fighter Lei Feng of the 1960's set a brilliant example of wholeheartedly serving the people for the whole society. As his deeds produced a great impact in every corner of the country, his spirit has impelled and educated a generation of people. If Lei Feng, Ou Yanghai, Wang Jie, and other heroic and exemplary figures represented

the spiritual style of our army in the 1960's, then Zhang Hua, Zhu Boru, Li Junjia, Zhou Chao, Ding Hongjun, the heroic Huashan rescue team, and large numbers of Lei Feng type advanced individuals and units have embodied the mental outlook of the PLA in the 1980's. The Lei Feng spirit is the extremely valuable spirit wealth contributed by the PLA to the Chinese nation and to the socialist cause.

In the activities of building socialist spiritual civilization, the PLA has not only played an exemplary role, but has also created fresh experience of the army and people jointly building civilization units. In the past few years, these activities have developed swiftly from key points to all areas, from superficial to deepgoing manner, from the interior to the border regions, and have extended to all trades and fronts. There are now 50,000 army-people civilization units throughout the country, in which 100 million people are involved. The activity of army and people jointly building socialist spiritual civilization is the development of the army's tradition of supporting the government and cherishing the people under new historical conditions. It is a good method for the party, government, army, and people to make joint efforts to eliminate the negative consequences of the "Great Cultural Revolution." It is a new creation for the implementation of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and for the building of spiritual and material civilization, which has strong vitality.

The PLA is a fighting force as well as a working force. After the founding of the PRC, this heroic army became an assault force for building the socialist motherland. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the whole army participated in more than 8,200 large and medium size key construction projects of the state and various localities and assisted the localities in running around 20,000 social public welfare undertakings. While taking part in the key construction projects of the state, the PLA gave full play to the superiority of its organizational discipline, ideological consciousness, and technological equipment and served as an assault force. By accomplishing the project of diverting the Luanhe River to Tianjin in a faster, better, and economical way, the PLA has set a fine example for the key construction projects of the whole country and has won widespread acclaim.

Now, as the army building has entered a new stage, the military and political quality of our troops will inevitably be raised to a new level and the people's army will certainly be able to make greater contributions to the people.

CSO: 4005/876

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PRC SYMPOSIUM ON ANTI-JAPANESE BASE AREAS

HK240855 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 84 p 3

["Roundup" by Xiao Li [5135 7812]: "The International Symposium on the History of China's Anti-Japanese Base Areas"]

[Text] The international symposium on the history of China's anti-Japanese base areas, sponsored by Nankai University, was held in Tianjin 1-4 August. Attending the symposium were over 90 Chinese and foreign specialists and scholars, including 34 scholars from the United States, Japan, Canada, Britain and Australia. This symposium received over 60 theses and touched upon research into all aspects of the anti-Japanese base areas. This was the first time that China has conducted an international academic exchange concerning research on the history of China's anti-Japanese base areas.

The opening session was presided over by Professor Wei Hongyun, director of the History Department of Nankai University. Yao Jun, vice mayor of Tianjin Municipality, gave a welcoming speech, and Teng Weizao, president of Nankai University, gave the opening speech. Speaking at the meetings were Rong Zihe, who was vice chairman of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Border Area Government during the period of the war of resistance against Japan and who is now an adviser to the Ministry of Finance; Chinese scholars Li Xin, Sun Sibai and Wei Hongyun; Japanese specialist Yutaka Nozawa, American specialist (Van Lippe) [5400 0500 3099], and Professor Mitsuyoshi Himeta, translator of the book "Evidence of the Massacre in Nanjing." The symposium mainly discussed the following questions:

Concerning conditions for the establishment and development of the anti-Japanese base areas, one opinion holds that the anti-Japanese bases did not exist or develop in isolation and that they were closely related with the areas under the rule of the KMT and the enemy-occupied areas. Even less can we study these base areas without taking into account of the process of the development of the anti-fascist war in the world. According to those holding this view, at the initial period of the war of resistance against Japan, and at the beginning of the cooperation between the KMT and the CPC, the KMT government was relatively active in fighting the war. In addition to this, the Japanese imperialists' neglect of the strength of the Communist Party and the fact that the outbreak of the Pacific War pinned down Japanese troops constituted important conditions for the establishment and development of the anti-Japanese base areas. They

laid relatively greater stress on the importance of external conditions. Another opinion holds that true external conditions were important, but in discussing this problem, we should not fail to see that these external conditions were not the major causes for the establishment and development of those base areas. The major causes for the development of the anti-Japanese base areas from small into large ones and later into strategic bases for persisting in carrying out a prolonged war of resistance and for achieving final victory were: 1) China mobilized the masses in a widespread manner and rallied together all the anti-Japanese forces to carry out a people's war; 2) the CPC implemented a series of correct policies, such as the policy of reducing rent for land and interest on loans, that of rational charges, the three-thirds system, the policy of better troops and simpler administration and the grand production campaign, and thus gave play to the initiative of the people in carrying out the resistance war and production; and 3) anti-Japanese bases were a continuation and development of the rural bases of the Agrarian revolution period. The experiences and lessons of financial and economic construction and the work related to government administration provided reference for anti-Japanese base areas.

Concerning the question of dividing the war of resistance against Japan into several historical periods, the traditional method of Chinese scholars is to regard the period from July 1937 to December 1940 as a rising period; the period from January 1941 to December 1942 as a period of fall; and the period from January 1943 to August 1945 as a period of rising again. Some scholars have put forth different views concerning this method. For example, one held that the history of the base areas should be studied in light of the entire process of World War II. Therefore, he held that the outbreak of the Pacific War on 8 December 1941 should mark a division in periods of the history of China's war of resistance against Japan, including the history of anti-Japanese base areas. Others thought that we must regard the beginning of the "18 September incident" in 1931 as the beginning of the war of resistance against Japan. This kind of viewpoint has already been adopted by people in history circles in Japan, who have used the term "war of 15 years." These people hold "that Japan's aggression against China and other Asian countries as the core of the war of 15 years, a view held by many people. The major battlefields of the war of 15 years was in China and this kind of view has also been very convincing in Japan." This viewpoint won the support of some scholars.

In discussing the relationship between the national struggle and class struggle during the period of the war of resistance against Japan, quite a few scholars participating in the symposium aired their objection to the viewpoints of some Western scholars who hold that the victory of the CPC lay only in its awakening of "peasant nationalism," and those who described the revolutionary movement led by the CPC as "national communism." They thought that the basic tasks of the national democratic revolution in China's semicolonial and semifeudal society were to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism and to overthrow feudalism. These two major tasks interact. During the war of resistance against Japan, the national contradiction, and the contradictions between the classes and political groups at home fell into a secondary and subordinate position. Under the conditions whereby an anti-Japanese united front had been formed, the needs of the anti-Japanese national struggle had to be the starting

point for all the demands of class struggle. At the same time the political and economic demands of the workers and peasants had to be based on the condition that these demands would not break up the cooperation between them and the landlord and capitalist classes. In the face of aggression by the Japanese imperialists, the resistance against Japan was the first priority. However, without democracy the resistance would meet many difficulties. The CPC, in accordance with the principle of national struggle being consistent with class struggle, formulated the basic line and the various concrete policies for leading the war of resistance against Japan. It adhered to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in its own hands in the united front, gave a free hand in mobilizing and organizing the masses of people carried out democratic reform, improved the people's livelihood, launched a magnificent people's war that was unprecedented in Chinese history, and thus turned the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines into key areas of the Chinese people's struggle of resistance and national salvation. The reason why the CPC heightened its political prestige and won the sincere support of the people was because it upheld the banner of the anti-Japanese national liberation and at the same time, it had actually solved the problems related to democracy and livelihood for the peasants (problems of social revolution).

In addition, warm discussion was carried out by many scholars on the role of the peasants and intellectuals in the war of resistance against Japan and on the support given by Overseas Chinese, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots and international friends to the anti-Japanese base areas.

CSO: 4005/876

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CHOOSE CADRES WITH BOTH ABILITY, MORAL INTEGRITY

HK300625 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 84 p 8

[Article by Yan Xiu [0917 4423]: "From Cao Cao's Orders to Seek Men of Ability to the Discussion on Questions Concerning Ability and Moral Integrity of Successors"]

[Text] Toward the end of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique sent people to control some party and government departments and vigorously trained some henchmen in an area under their strict control in order to take over the important departments under the State Council and the CPC Central Committee as soon as the time was ripe. In addition, since 1973, they had vigorously launched a drive to uphold the legalist school of thought and to denounce Confucianism. Their purpose was to prepare their counterrevolutionary leading bodies for a seizure of power--for they were all "legalists." A subtle issue that warrants our attention is that they noisily publicized the criterion by which Cao Cao promoted people to important posts--that is, on their competence rather than on their moral integrity. Shortly after this, they praised and recommended it in various "anthologies of legalist treatises" in order to make preparations in the area of public opinion for their henchmen's seizure of party and state power. This gang were so foolish that they considered themselves to be "competent people" (how can anyone believe this) and yet could not but profess a lack of moral integrity. The counterrevolutionaries confession was really ridiculous.

According to the edition of "Collected Works of Cao Cao" published by the Zhonghua Book Company, only four of the orders issued by Cao Cao to look for real talents still exist. All of them emphasize "competence" but regard "moral integrity" as insignificant. In the 25 years from the first year of the reign of Emperor Jianan [title during reign] (AD 196), the year in which he brought Emperor Xian [posthumous title of Emperor Jianan], previously in exile, back to Xu (now Xuchang, Henan) in order to reestablish the Han court, to the 25th year of the reign of Emperor Jianan, the year in which he died of an illness, his power over and his control of the Han court were absolute. When he began to manipulate the Han court, not much land was under his control and he was not very powerful. He had to spend more than a dozen years fighting the forces under Yuan Shao and his son, which occupied the land known to us today as Shanxi and Hebei, before he could annihilate them. However, not far away from Xu, in the west, the southwest, the south and the southeast, were domains of other warlords.

Although he had "made" the emperor a "puppet," he could not even give orders to one feudal lord. He was certainly powerful in central China. However, he was encircled and there was not a day on which he was not in danger. Under such circumstances, Cao Cao had no choice but to try by every means, fair or foul, to build up his strength. Thus, it is understandable that he should have repeatedly issued such orders. In addition, he was supposed to be the grandson of Cao Teng, an influential eunuch, and his father, Cao Song, was Cao Teng's adopted son. At the court, Cao Song had held all the most senior posts. However, Cao Song was of humble origins and "no one can tell for sure what his childhood and upbringing were like." Thus, people called Cao Cao "an ugly being left by a useless castrated man." In the remaining years of the Eastern Han Dynasty, when the political and social climates were characterized by a tendency to attach paramount importance to family background, the Caos could find no way to improve upon their social status. Thus, Cao Cao sympathized with talents from "humble families" (the sense in which the phrase was used then is the opposite of that in which it is used today) and was willing to appoint them as members of his military and administrative staffs. That was, then, a progressive way of doing things. In his "Order Concerning the Question of the Character and Ability of Officials," Cao Cao said: "A wise ruler does not make those who have performed no meritorious service officials or reward those who cannot fight. In times of peace and prosperity, he encourages moral integrity. However, in troubled times, he encourages able people and rewards them for their meritorious service." In a second order, the "Order Concerning the Question of Looking for Talents," he said: "If one must use only those people with moral integrity, how could Duke Huan of the state of Qi have established the supremacy of his state! Now, in the country, is there anybody from a humble family fishing on the banks of river Wei although he has many excellent qualities? Is there anybody who commits adultery with his brother's wife, who receives bribes, and yet who has not found a superior appreciative of his ability? Help me glorify those talents from humble families and recommend talents to me. I shall put them in important positions." In a third order, the "Order Instructing the Officials Concerned not to be Prejudiced Against Defective Talents in Choosing Officials," he said: "People with moral integrity may not be enterprising, and enterprising people are not necessarily people with moral integrity." In the fourth order, the "Order Instructing People Not To Give Too Much Consideration to the Character of the Talents Recommended by Them," he said: "Now, all people in the whole country should recommend, without leaving out any, all the talents they know, whether they are people with bad reputations, people laughed at by others for their disagreeable behavior, malevolent people, or people who do not leave their parents, so long as they know how to administer a country or command troops." It can be seen from what Cao Cao wrote that he had developed thoroughly the principle that "ability, not character, is all that is needed."

However, we must understand that what was "moral integrity" or "character" in the late Eastern Han period is quite different from what we would mean by these two terms today. At that time, people considered family background the only important thing. The younger generations of powerful or noble families could be called virtuous people even if at home they indulged in loud and empty talk and were pedantic scholars, and otherwise did nothing. They could also be called people with moral integrity even if they bullied their fellow townsmen



or neighbors. Thus, at that time, "people with moral integrity" could be another term for local bullies and good-for-nothings. It goes without saying that Cao Cao, who was bent on conquering and ruling the whole country, did not want such people to help him. Cao Cao issued so many similar orders concerning the question of looking for real talents simply because he wanted to show that he did not stick to only one pattern in choosing officials. He did not intend to recruit his subordinates from among people of bad character only. It seems that he encouraged "malevolence and a disrespect for parents." In fact, he put Kong Rong to death on the grounds that the latter had expressed views showing his lack of love for his parents. He accused Kong Rong of "violating the heavenly principles and disrupting the cardinal relations." All this is Confucian ethics. In fact, according to the "History of the Later Han Dynasty" and the "History of the Three Kingdoms," most of the people chosen by Cao Cao were not particularly malevolent people. There were more talents under Liu Bei than under Cao Cao. However, it seems that there were more people of bad character among the talents under the former than among those under Cao Cao.

The stress of the extreme views held by Cao Cao was laid on the recruitment of talents and not on the recruitment of people of bad character (in fact, we can learn something from the orders issued by him to look for real talents). The Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique adopted Cao Cao's thesis for the purpose of recruiting people of bad character and suppressing and eliminating those cadres with both ability and moral integrity. There are radical differences between the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and Cao Cao. The former will never be able to make itself into another Cao Cao!

Today, we emphasize that all successors should have both ability and moral integrity and that neither is dispensable. Whether or not one has "moral integrity" depends on whether or not one wholeheartedly advocates socialism, whether or not one wholeheartedly serves the people, whether or not one adheres to the reforms and innovations, whether or not one is concerned about the well-being of the people, whether or not one devotes all one's energies and wisdom to building the two socialist civilizations, and whether or not one is afraid of making sacrifices. Thus, "moral integrity" is a prerequisite for being a successor. People without that kind of "moral integrity" are not qualified to become successors. We must unambiguously state our clear-cut stand: "Only those people with moral integrity will be chosen and appointed." At present, we need talents badly, particularly enterprising talents with an innovative and creative spirit. Under such circumstances, [words indistinct] lower the standards by which we measure people's "moral integrity"? I think we absolutely should not. If we let crafty and "energetic" people, but people without "moral integrity" become members of our leading bodies, they may have greater courage to do evil if they choose to. The kind of successors we desire are those "with both moral integrity and the will to make progress. The will to make progress must be coupled with moral integrity." It was Cao Cao's personal ambition to conquer the whole country. Our means and ends are totally different from Cao Cao's because we are working for the interests of the people. However, real talents are indispensable to the "four modernizations." Thus, "ability" is also a prerequisite for successors and neither "ability" nor "moral integrity" is dispensable. The world abounds in ordinary people. If we do not stress both ability and moral integrity, everybody can become a member of our leading



bodies. Of course, it is necessary to correct some comrades' misconception of "moral integrity." For example, some people regard obedience, the practice of sticking to old ways, and other "leftist" practices as the standards for "moral integrity," and they interpret all this as a strong sense of organization, a down-to-earth work style, and a firm stand. Obviously, this is a longstanding malpractice and their standards of "moral integrity" are wrong. From now on, we should regard the combination of the will to make progress and to reform, vigor and resourcefulness as "ability" as well as a very valuable kind of "moral integrity." If one is not enterprising, not eager to make progress, and does not reform, then one is not even mediocre, and what unusual moral integrity can one profess. On the question of cadres, there have been longstanding serious problems. What we need is a large number of pioneers. None of those without moral integrity, whether they are old or young, should be put in important positions!

CSO: 4005/876

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RENMIN RIBAO ON RAISING DRAMA QUALITY

HK310906 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 84 p 7

[Article by Zhou Weizhi [0719 1550 1492]: "Further Raise the Artistic Quality of Contemporary Drama"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] During the process of performing the traditional operas, plays and modern operas in the 1984 contemporary drama festival held by the Ministry of Culture, many comrades commented that we must work with perseverance, in the spirit of overcoming obstacles, to improve the quality of contemporary drama. In my opinion, this reflects the wishes of the masses and the demands of contemporary dramatic art itself; it is entirely correct. I would like to discuss here a few opinions of mine on the subject.

//First, to a greater or lesser extent, the most outstanding works performed during the drama festival demonstrated repeatedly that reality is the wellspring of creativity.// The fundamental path toward improving the quality of contemporary dramatic art lies first in probing deep into life. Trying to use technique to raise the quality of drama without diligently going deep into life and gaining a rich basis in life is to attend to trifles to the neglect of essentials, and even if some results are gained in this way, there will never be any big breakthroughs.

Today, China is in a new historical stage of great transformation. With the deepening of our economic and social reforms, deep changes are also occurring in people's social relations, social psychology, and ethical viewpoints, and in many standards of right and wrong, good and bad, beautiful and ugly. The ability, courage, spirit and initiative shown by China's people, armed with advanced thinking, a revolutionary spirit, and modern scientific and cultural knowledge, in the formidable process of building a socialist society with Chinese characteristics, is extraordinary and amazing. Countless new people and new things are pouring forth constantly these days. This is the kind of life we are living, amidst the high tide of the Chinese people working to create a whole new situation in socialist modernization.

The central leaders have repeatedly called on us to work hard to reflect the dynamic life of the four modernizations, to praise the glorious achievements of the pioneers, and to create moving images of new socialist people. Contemporary playwrights and artists, in carrying out this glorious task, are soldiers fighting on the frontlines. They can by no means understand the era

and today's social life purely through abstract concepts, but must instead understand and experience it through different, specific things, in order to develop a large quantity of concrete but lively artistic materials, and a deepening of their understanding. Only then can they find what they want to express from the midst of our complex and varied existence, and only then can they create a variety of typical characters, and move and teach people through the thoughts and actions of these characters. It is impossible to even think of creating model images without going into life and bathering a large bulk of material. If an actor fails to understand the kind of life he is portraying, he will find it difficult to avoid generalization.

It is unthinkable to pursue modern drama without going deep into life. A person who sits in a room or stays within set confines without getting in touch with life and people or gaining an understanding of different types of characters will find it impossible to gain more information. Without more information, he cannot have lively thoughts or agile thinking patterns, and with time will degenerate into stereotyped thinking; he will stagnate and fall behind life. However, we must not understand the phrase "going deep into life" in too narrow a sense, as if all that counts is going deep into the countryside and the factories. The areas and paths to going deep into the countryside and the factories. The areas and paths to going deep into life are manifold. You can go to the countryside or the factories, but also to the city streets, residential areas, and among youths and students, intellectuals and cadres. In short, people who organize creative works must take going deep into life as one of the basic tasks in the development of contemporary drama and grasp it well.

//Second, in order to improve the ideological and artistic quality of contemporary dramatic creations, our playwrights must further liberate their minds.// In a certain sense, liberation of the mind constitutes the key and the prerequisite to raising the quality of contemporary drama today.

When we say that our contemporary playwrights should liberate their minds, what we mean is that in looking at the world, the age, our constantly changing life, and all the various people and things in it, they must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a guide, and the party line, principles and policies as their principles, in order to free their minds of all the trammels of old, outdated ideas and walk toward a new world, welcoming new things. Liberating the mind has a direct effect on the way playwrights perceive contemporary life, and on certain fundamental issues concerning the discovery, perception, and correct moulding of creators, pioneers, and new socialist people. Therefore, it cannot but have key significance in the raising of the quality of creative works.

Our pioneers all adapt themselves to the needs of historical development and have the courage to carry out reforms, to break through the trammels of "leftist" and the bonds of old, worn out concepts, to oppose all sorts of backward, conservative ideas, and to make contributions to the development of productive forces and to the advance of society. For this reason, not only does it take encouragement and support for these pioneers to emerge in large numbers, but once they do, they are bound to create waves and be subject to as much criticism as praise. If dramatists have not liberated their minds,

they fail to take the side of the pioneers when observing and understanding life, and instead view people and things with "leftist," out-of-date attitudes. They may easily see today's splendid situation as by no means good. They may even be deeply cynical about it and lack faith in the future. This will mean that they not only fail to discover new socialist people, but may even see new people as wierd or bad people. Not only will they fail to recognize the special spirit possessed by these new people, but may even see them as heretics who fail to differentiate between beauty and ugliness or good and bad. At the same time as paying attention to liberating themselves from the bonds of "leftist" thinking, they must also pay attention to the interference or restriction of another sort of thinking; that is, they must not look at people and things through rightist eyes. This can also lead to a one-sided understanding and a failure to see the good overall situation or the main current, seeing instead only the few negative or dark aspects, and showing apathy and confusion in the face of old things while failing to see the healthy forces progressing at present.

Writing modern dramas is an extremely difficult thing to do. Contemporary drama involves contemporary people and things, and while in one way everyone can see them fully and closely through personal experience, they each have their own demands and attitudes, putting the playwright in a difficult position. Therefore, when we discuss liberating the mind, we include the leaders of certain cultural departments and literary and art units, who must also get rid of the influence of "left" thinking, support writers in daring to create, and genuinely go through joy and sorrow with the writers, taking more responsibility for them. More effort must be made to achieve full and mutual confidence between leaders and writers. Only when writers have no worries can their writing seem like speaking from the heart, and only then will they have the courage to write about their genuine feelings and create works of really high quality.

//Third, writing efforts must be concentrated on creating model characters, for herin lies the key to the vitality of drama.// Some people say that in order for plays to survive, they must portray real characters. This is entirely correct. Naturally, to write about people involves writing about things, but the aim of writing about things is to write about people. In the past, when we were creating contemporary dramatic works, though we paid lipservice to the idea that people were the most important thing, in reality we often threw most of our efforts into writing about things. As soon as a new thing occurred, we would all hurry to write about it, competing to finish first and get our plays performed. The result was that in the finished products, the entire process of the thing concerned was very clear, but there was nothing about characters. Thus the masses were not interested, and the plays would finish their runs very soon. When the masses go to the theater they don't go to study political documents. They criticize certain plays as "political plays, task plays, short-lived plays" not without reason. However, some places have not yet managed to draw a lesson from this. They write a play, abandon it, write another one, and thereby create a vicious circle. From the leaders' point of view, the reason these plays fail to keep the public interest is that they fail to help the writers improve their works, while from the point of view of the work itself, it is because the writers fail to fully grasp the basic idea of writing about characters. Of course, writing about people and

creating characters is an extremely arduous artistic task, much more difficult than writing about things. But whatever the case, we must really shift the emphasis of plays onto characters. We must pay special attention to overcoming the long-existing tendency among creative works toward "idolizing" and "categorizing." If we fail to extricate ourselves from these bonds, the so-called lively new socialist people we create will easily become nothing. When writing about people we must write about their character, their feelings and interests, and the relations between them. This is an important aspect of aesthetics.

//Fourth, dramatic art cannot be divorced from the masses.// In our contemporary dramatic creations, we should see efforts to meet the changing demands of the audiences, especially those of the new generation, as a way to solve an important issue in the development of the vitality of all sorts of dramatic art. My opinion is that the critical point is whether we can win over audiences, especially the new generation. We must have a sense of urgency on this big question. Over the past few years, due to the effects of the system of "eating out of the same big pot," many dramatic performing troupes have failed to pay sufficient attention to the problem of winning over audiences. They have not looked into it enough, and have hence failed to solve it properly. The use of administrative methods and political pressure by Lin Biao and the gang of four to force people to accept contemporary plays has greatly reduced people's interest in plays and created a bad influence. During the years since the smashing of the "gang of four," since there have not been many plays that have been popular with the masses, it must be admitted that contemporary drama does not have much influence over them. We must definitely make positive efforts to find ways to change the situation.

"Adapting" and "catering" to are entirely different things. Adapting means taking "I" as the main thing, it is using "my" initiative to design and select, it is a question of how "I" will adapt to the tastes of the masses, so as to give good, beautiful, and healthy things to the masses to "eat." Adapting implies leading, raising their consciousness, and finally "conquering" them. Catering, however, means passivity and one-sidedness, and not caring whether something is good or bad, but performing something as long as the audience likes it, irrespective of its consequences. This can be said to be a sort of artistic "tailism."

The system reform at present being carried out among dramatic troupes has as one of its aims the taking of various paths toward gradual change, on which our dramatic troupes become artistic production entities that are autonomous in terms of art, personnel, and finances, and unified in terms of responsibility, rights, and interests, so as to genuinely solve the "big pot" problem and egalitarianism in distribution. Other than a certain amount of subsidy given by the state, a troupe should rely on its own efforts for its growth and development. For this reason, the question of adapting to the needs of the masses becomes increasingly important. Therefore, the responsible people for dramatic troupes, along with all their staff and workers, must study audiences, study their needs, study their changes, study what they can do to satisfy these needs, and study what they can do improve their ideological horizons and aesthetic skills. This will not only help encourage troupes to work hard to create works adapted to the needs of audiences and of higher artistic quality, but

will lead them to work hard to reform and create the new in terms of artistic forms and acting methods, and to speed up their artistic growth, gaining experience in artistic competition. In short, the flowers we refer to in the phrase "let a hundred flowers blossom" must be flowers that grow in a garden and that have strong vitality, not plastic flowers that stand in a vase and have no life at all.

CSO: 4005/876

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

NATIONAL CYL FORUM--The national forum on CYL work in minority areas was held in Hailar on 8 August. Some 103 CYL cadres of 27 minority nationalities from 17 provinces and autonomous regions met at the forum to discuss minority CYL work in the course of reform, sum up and exchange new experience, and make clear the emphasis and guidelines of CYL work. Keyum Bawudun, secretary of the CYL Central Committee, presided over the forum. Hu Jintao, secretary of the CYL Central Committee, attended and spoke. Zhao Zhihong, vice chairman of the Nei Monggol Regional People's Government, welcomed all CYL cadres present on behalf of the regional CPC Committee and government. [Summary] [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Aug 84 SK]

GAO KELIN INSPECTS NEI MONGGOL--Gao Kelin, member of the Central Advisory Commission, inspected Hanggin Hou Banner, Nei Monggol on 3 August. He visited plants and families of self-employed workers during his stay in the banner. [Summary] [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 August 84 SK]

EDUCATION REFORM SOLICITED--Beijing, 25 August (XINHUA)--China's 50 million university and middle school students have been urged to consider ways of aiding educational reform and the country's modernization drive. A plan for next year passed at the second meeting of the 20th presidium of the All-China Students' Federation, which ended here on Thursday, called on students to use their own initiative and think independently of how to help industry, commerce and society at large. The federation decided to strengthen its organization and ties with students' unions at various schools. Another resolution stressed the importance of friendship with foreign students studying in China, and called for enhancing friendly relations with overseas students. [Text] [OW251303 Beijing XINHUA in English 1037 GMT 25 Aug 84]

MODERN CHINESE LITERATURE ANTHOLOGY--Shanghai, 30 Aug (XINHUA)--Four of a 20-volume series, "New Literature of China (1927-1937)," compiled by the Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House will be on sale by National Day, 1 October. Covering literary theory, novels, essays, reportage, poetry, drama and films, and with historical data and an index from 1927 to 1937, the complete series will be available in 1985. The prefaces are made by leading literary figures such as Zhou Yang, Xia Yan and Ba Jin. Of the first four volumes, two are collections of novels, the others, of novelettes. Among the former are Ba Jin's "The Family," an autobiographical novel revolving round a large disinte-

grating feudal household in China's turbulent twenties, and Mao Dun's "Midnight" which tells about an industrial capitalist in Shanghai of the thirties. A 10-volume series (1917-1927) compiled in the thirties by Zhao Jiabi has already been reissued by the publishing house. [Text] [OW310443 Beijing XINHUA in English 0635 GMT 30 Aug 84]

WREATHS TO DECEASED COMRADE SENT--Beijing, 29 Aug (XINHUA)--Qiu Xiangtian, member of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee and former deputy political commissar and director of the political department of the PLA Armored Forces, died of illness in Beijing on 20 August at the age of 68. A ceremony to bid farewell to Comrade Qiu Xiangtian's remains was held at the auditorium of the Babaoshan Cemetery of Revolutionaries in Beijing on 29 August. Comrades Chen Pixian, Peng Chong, and Ye Fei, as well as the CPPCC National Committee, the office of the armored forces, and other units, sent wreaths. Peng Chong attended the ceremony. [Excerpt] [OW010842 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1402 GMT 29 Aug 84]

CSO: 4005/876



## SOUTHWEST REGION

### CONFERENCE ON PARTY CONSOLIDATION WORK

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by Shen Zhenlian [3088 2182 5114]]

[Text] The team of the provincial party committee directing the work of party consolidation called a meeting to study implementation of the notification from the Central Directing Commission to do a solid and effective job at this stage of consolidation and reform work. Comrade Yang Rudai [2799 3067 1486] emphatically pointed out that consolidation and reform must be carried out in close coordination with all work, must determine measures, reach down into the realities, become visible in action, and show good results.

The team of the provincial party committee directing the work of party consolidation called a party consolidation work meeting on the 13th and 14th to study the implementation of the spirit of Notification No 9 from the Central Directing Commission, which commands all party consolidation units to maintain high standards, make strict demands and do a good down-to-earth job at this stage of consolidation and reform work.

The standing committee of the provincial party committee, the vice governors who are party members, the members of the team of the provincial party committee directing the party consolidation work and the responsible comrade of the Central Directing Commission's liaison team dispatched to Sichuan Province attended the meeting, which was also attended by the responsible officials from all departments, party committees, offices and bureaus, the main spokesmen of party consolidation in organs of provincial rank and liaison officers who are sent out by the team of the provincial party committee directing party consolidation work.

The meeting thoroughly studied and discussed Notification No 9 from the Central Directing Commission, and many units, in efforts to link the work with the realities, exchanged information at the meeting on conditions of consolidations and reform. Eight units took the floor at the meeting, giving accounts of conditions in the first stage of consolidation and reform work

in their units and of their plans for the implementation of Notification No 9 from the Central Directing Commission.

Comrades Yang Rudai and Nie Ronggui [5119 2837 6311] gave speeches at the meeting. Comrade Yang Rudai emphasized that consolidation and reform must be carried out in close coordination with all other work, must determine measures, reach down into the realities, become visible in action and show good results.

The meeting recognized that the Notification No 9 from the Central Directing Commission provides clear and definite provisions on the important points and demands of the party consolidation work. Each department and each unit where there is doubt whether its guiding ideology is incorrect or not unequivocal, must institute an effective consolidation and reform. The first stage, when the various units of provincial organs gave attention to a simultaneous consolidation and reform during party consolidation, has shown certain good results, but we must not overestimate them, and many problems have not yet been solved. After comparing the results of investigations, it is extremely necessary to concentrate another definite period of time on instituting consolidation and reform. Based on the present conditions, the meeting emphasized the need to effectively take the following items of work into hand:

1. The need to rectify further the guiding ideology in all work. The party organizations (party committees) at all the various party consolidation units must continue to free themselves of old ideas, eliminate "Leftist" influences and courageously reform. Those who have already drawn up their plans for initial reforms must energetically take practical action and strive to produce good results. Departments concerned must give their attention to synchronous complementary action. Those who have not yet drawn up measures for consolidation and reform must institute a one-time general inspection of business principles and concrete policies, regulations, systems and methods of their departments, subject them to a thorough examination and draw up measures for the reform of their own departments. The provincial party committee has decided that its standing committee and the vice governors who are party members shall in a division of labor among them hear the reports of units one by one and check performances in this line of work.

2. The need to continue education among party cadres and party members in repudiating the "Cultural Revolution," to eliminate factionalism thoroughly and strengthen party spirit. Judging by the present conditions, most units are engaged in conscientious study and discussion, and only a minority of units lack sufficient systematic concentration on the solution of problems and do not clear up and rectify erroneous understandings that have surfaced. Some units have not yet conscientiously attempted a solution of the problem of factionalism, and in some particular units the situation is one of letting things drift. The party organizations (party committees) in all units must strengthen concrete guidance to link up with the realities and purposefully solve existing problems, as well as guard against the raising of old scores and haggling over who is correct. Well-aimed discussions of special topics should be organized, so as to clear up certain mistaken views and muddled

understandings. The small number of comrades who have committed mistakes in the "Cultural Revolution" should be assisted in an earnest summing up of the experiences and lessons. The leading cadres must set examples during the studies and must not serve as protective screens for factionalism.

3. The need to thoroughly investigate and deal with the problems of serious bureaucratism that cause the state heavy economic or political damage and the problem of misuse of official powers for personal gain. This is a key point in the consolidation and reform work, as it is also a weak link in the first stage of party consolidation work. The leadership in all units must be firmly determined to solve these problems. First, the leading cadres must take the initiative and must arouse the masses to expose major cases of bureaucratism and misuse of powers of office for private gain. Second, the party organizations (party committees) of each unit should conscientiously investigate those cases, which have already been exposed, that the masses complain most strongly about. The discipline inspection departments must select these as typical cases to be publicly dealt with. Third, to adopt decisive measures against unhealthy trends particular to one's department or one's trade, put a firm stop to such practices and draw up effective plans for consolidation and reform. Fourth, every unit must report to the vast numbers of our party members about the conditions of investigating and redressing problems of unhealthy tendencies, thus accepting supervision by the masses. Fifth, conditions of weak and demoralized leadership must be quickly changed. In investigating and dealing with problems of serious bureaucratism and misuse of powers of office for personal gain, any tendency of softness for fear of difficulties must be overcome and the perfunctory and evasive tendency of turning big problems into small problems and small problems into no problem at all must be opposed. In case no solution is as yet achieved in the consolidation and reform stage in problems of serious bureaucratism and misuse of powers of office for personal gain in any department or unit, the responsible party organization (party committee) and their main leading officials will be investigated.

4. The need to earnestly solve the major problems existing in ideological, workstyle and organizational respects in the leading groups and to strengthen the composition of leading groups. It is necessary to further perfect the system of democratic centralism and various other institutions and to conscientiously solve in the leading groups such problems as glossing things over to stay on good terms, seeking good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle, fear of upholding one's principles, showing softness and low morale, as well as unwillingness to rally around the party and the tendency to have one person make every decision, etc. During the process of consolidating and reforming, the work of readjusting the leading groups and of establishing a third echelon must be successfully accomplished.

5. Implementation of the party's policies on intellectuals, on overseas Chinese affairs, on enemy soldiers that have revolted and crossed over and on the question of left-over underground party organizations must be firmly taken in hand. The party organizations (party committees) of every department and every unit must conscientiously institute investigations and

studies and gain a clear idea as to the extent to which these policies have been implemented in one's own unit and as to any remaining problems. Any problem that has not yet found its solution, or anything that could not be implemented, should be listed and a concrete arrangement should be made, and a force organized, to gradually implement policies and solve problems one by one.

6. Every party organization (party committee) must strengthen its guidance of party consolidation, must make overall arrangements for the consolidation and reform to be carried out together with the liquidation of the "three types of people" [undesirable party members] and other party rectification work, combined with economic work and all kinds of professional work, so as to have one type of work help the other types make progress, paying attention to have the consolidation and reform give impetus to all kinds of professional work, as well as to preventing preoccupation with one's everyday duties take the place of consolidation and reform work. The period of time for this stage is about 3 months. Before concluding this stage of consolidation and reform, each unit must submit to a check and approval procedure to make sure that requirements have been met, according to the criteria of article 4 of Notification No 9 from the Central Directing Commission and the procedure for checking and accepting this work by stages drawn up by the team of the provincial party committee directing party consolidation work. Only then will the unit be allowed to go on to the next stage.

9808

CSO: 4005/790

## NORTH REGION

### HEBEI LEADER ON IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

HK300904 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0430 GMT 21 Aug 84

[Report by radio reporter (Yin Lianqi) and correspondents (Feng Qi'en) and (Ye Gingyao)]

[Text] Hebei provincial CPC committee Secretary Gao Zhanxiang spoke at the Hengshui meeting of some party secretaries at prefectural, city and county levels on 18 August. He proposed that at present, attention should be attached to prevent and overcome the trend of neglecting political and ideological work, which should be done in a down-to-earth manner. This is an important task facing the cadres at all levels.

After his investigation and study in some rural areas, factories, schools, bookstores, restaurants and cultural specialised households during his inspection of Hengshui Prefecture, Comrade Gao Zhanxiang made 10 proposals on how to enhance political and ideological work during the new periods, they are:

1. It is necessary to persistently take a good grasp of party rectification, and to work hard to enhance the party's ideological building. In party rectification, it is necessary to thoroughly negate the Cultural Revolution, including its theory, the so-called theory of continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship, and its form, so-called extensive democracy. Through negating the Cultural Revolution, party spirit should be strengthened, factionalism should be eliminated, ideology should be unified, and the party's style should be set upright. This is a crucial problem in strengthening the party's ideological building.
2. It is necessary to do a good job in the division of labor between party and government. Attention should be attached to preventing and overcoming the trend of neglecting political and ideological work. Without division of labor between party and government, it will be very difficult to locate responsibilities. Only when division of labor is implemented, will it be possible for the party committees to concentrate their efforts on grasping the implementation of

the party's line, principles and policies, and to do a good job in political and ideological work in the building of spiritual civilization and in pushing forward the development of material civilization. At present, in some units where a good job has been done in the division of labor between party and government, a new style relationship between party and government has been set up. On the one hand, the party committee supports the government, but refrains from monopolizing everything; they give a free hand to the latter, but do not act as onlookers. On the other hand, the government does not make arbitrary decisions and take preemptory actions; they do not use their power single-handedly, and they show no repugnance toward supervision by the party committee. The chief responsible persons of the party committee and the government have each his duty; while implementing division of labor, they are not separated from each other, and they work with concerted efforts to give the best performance in their duties.

3. We should strengthen political and ideological work in the course of reform, so as to guide the development of reform in a correct direction. We should be resolute to carry out reform and have a clear-cut stand in supporting it. Carrying out reform means to make probes; sometimes, shortcomings and mistakes are unavoidable, regarding which, we should adopt an attitude of enthusiastic concern. All gossip which plays the part of a wet blanket is wrong. We should protect the initiatives of those people who are engaged in reforms. In the course of reform, it is necessary to take a grasp of education in the correct handling of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, and in patriotism and communism. We should oppose individualism which disregards the interests of the state and the collective, and guide incorrect ideas onto the track of correctness and the development of reform in a correct direction.

4. It is necessary to unfold activities in creating civilized villages and cities in a big way, and to step up the pace in building spiritual civilization. We must persist in the guiding principle of grasping the two civilizations simultaneously. In building civilized cities, it is imperative to grasp the central link of education in communist morality. The basic requirement is a fundamental change for the better in the party style, social atmosphere, and financial situation. We should establish the work style of doing practical work and emphasizing practical results. In building civilized villages, attention should be attached to bringing into play the roles of specialized households and households doing specialized jobs. The building of civilized villages should be guided with the idea of systems engineering, so that civilized villages may advance in a more popularized way to a higher standard.

5. We should strengthen study of economic theory, and do a good job in conducting cadres' theoretical study. In the practice of economic reform, many new topics have been raised, which require us to answer them with a Marxist view. Things will easily go wrong if we fail to study economic theory, and fail to study economic policies in earnest; there will thus be a deviation from the guidance of the basic theory of Marxism, and sole reliance on our subjective will. Therefore, we must strengthen study and research in economic theory, and work hard to raise the theoretical level of the contingent of cadres, so as to push forward the development of economic construction.

6. Propaganda cadres should have a head for economics, while economic cadres should have a head for politics. The former should not only have a sensitive head for politics, but should also understand and know about economics and how to manage affairs; while the latter should not only have a head for economics, and know how to handle affairs in accordance with economic laws, but should also understand the building of spiritual civilization, persist in a correct political orientation, and effectively handle the relationship between political and economic work, so as to ensure the synchronous development of the building of the two civilizations, advancing toward a common goal.

7. Attention should be paid to dialectical materialism and efforts should be exerted to overcome onesidedness in propaganda work. For instance, while laying stress on handling affairs in accordance with economic laws, we should not neglect the role of political and ideological work. While strengthening the publicity for material civilization, we should not neglect coverage on the building of spiritual civilization. We should have the whole situation in mind and persist in dialectical materialism. While stressing one side of a problem, attention should be paid to the other side of the problem which might take its place. We should avoid a situation in which while attention is paid to one erroneous trend, another is neglected.

8. It is necessary to make full use of modern propaganda means, and to do a good job in mass cultural activities in the cultural field. Attention should be paid to the application of modern propaganda means and to forms which the masses like to see and hear in the new period. We must do our best to solve the difficulties of the masses in remote border and mountain areas regarding the availability of books, newspapers, movies and television shows. We should promote the running of radio and television broadcasts at four levels. Newspaper propaganda should attach attention to truthfulness, ideological content, effectiveness, and news value. It is necessary to set up and develop a cultural network at four levels, including the cultural specialized households, include moral education in entertainment, and make the cultural life of the masses lively.

9. It is necessary to build a powerful propaganda contingent and to continuously raise its quality. Raising the political, cultural, science and technology levels and strengthening the combative effectiveness of the propaganda contingent is an important guarantee to strengthen the party's political and ideological work. We should adopt active measures to expand the propaganda contingent, so as to form a propaganda and education network. At the same time, we should pay attention to bringing into play the roles of retired cadres, veteran workers and teachers, and cultural specialized households in propaganda work.

10. We should maintain a cool head with the situation getting better and better. We should continue to preserve and bring forward the fine style of being modest and prudent. Under the excellent situation, we should emancipate the mind, while we should also maintain a cool head. We should be bold in our work, while we must be prudent in making a decision. Particular attention should be paid to investigation and study, and to seeking truth from facts. We should show respect to the masses, the actual conditions and science, by combining initiative with a scientific attitude.



NORTH REGION

LI LIGONG CONDUCTS PARTY-REFORM EXAMINATION

SK060152 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 84 p 1

[Text] At the recently held seventh enlarged plenary of the fourth provincial CPC Standing Committee, Li Ligong, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, on behalf of the standing committee, delivered a report on conducting comparison and examination in party rectification.

The report contended that, since the readjustment in March 1983, the leading body of the provincial CPC committee has resolutely acted in unison politically and ideologically with the CPC Central Committee. It has earnestly implemented the central authorities' lines, principles and policies and has worked conscientiously and diligently. In workstyle, the leading body has made all-out efforts to relate its work with reality and to maintain contact with the masses, resulting in better unity and cooperation as well as normal political life. By making concerted efforts and working hard, all members of the provincial CPC Standing Committee have further developed the province's excellent situation and have made new progress in various works.

While acknowledging the achievement, the report also referred to the major problems and shortcomings existing in economic work, ideological and political leadership, and in workstyle, analyzed the reasons of these problems and shortcomings and put forward measures for making corrections.

At the session, participating comrades fully discussed the report and contended that the examination of party rectification had been carried out in an overall and penetrating manner and had exactly exposed the problems. Meanwhile, the report has accurately analyzed the reasons and has put forward sincere criticism and proposals.

CSO: 4005/872



## NORTH REGION

### LIVING STANDARDS OF WORKERS, STAFF MEMBERS IMPROVE

SK050151 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 4 Sep 84

[Text] It has been learned, from a department concerned, that over the past 35 years, since the PRC's founding, the large number of workers and staff members in our municipality have not only stood up politically, but also experienced a much better livelihood, commensurate with the development of production. Their improved living standards have manifested themselves in the following eight aspects:

1. Income of workers and staff members in Tianjin has greatly increased over the past 5 years. At present, the average per-capita income, for living expenses, of families of workers and staff members has reached 553 yuan, 1,780-percent increase over 1949. This figure excludes the factor of price increases.
2. On the basis of improving the consumption level, workers have had a surplus of money every year. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the accumulated average per-capita savings deposits of families of workers and staff members in the municipality have amounted to 110 yuan or more.
3. The consumption picture is gradually changing from seeking only warm clothing and enough food, as in the past, to seeking relatively high-class consumer goods. At present, the amount of money spent by the large number of workers and staff members on food, heating and housing has decreased, while that spent on clothing and, in particular, purchases of high-grade commodities has increased remarkably.
4. In terms of food consumption, the situation of depending mainly on grain, which prevailed in the past, has changed to the present situation of stressing nutrition and seeking varied foodstuffs. At present, pork, beef, mutton, fresh eggs, fish, shrimp, vegetable oil, vegetables, fresh melons and fruits, and fresh milk have become indispensable food items for the people.
5. In terms of clothing purchases, the people have changed from only providing covering for their bodies to stressing beauty and varied designs. The quantity of clothes and [words indistinct] marketed in the municipality in 1983 was three times lighter than before the PRC's founding. Various designs of underwear, woolen sweaters, leather shoes and carpets have become popular consumer goods.

6. Durable consumer goods have developed from nothing to high-class and complete sets. Bicycles, sewing machines, wrist watches, radios and TV sets have already been popularized. In recent years, washing machines, tape recorders, cameras, color TV sets and refrigerators have been used in succession by some families.

7. Cultural life has developed from almost nothing to a rich and varied life. In 1983, average per-capita expenses on cultural and recreational activities accounted for 5.1 percent of total living expenses.

8. In terms of condition of housing, the characteristics have changed from narrow and simple to comfortable, wide and convenient. In 1983, the average per-capita housing space was approximately 5 square meters, about 50 percent of the families lived in houses of two or more stories, and most family residences were equipped with kitchens, toilets and tap water and sewer installations.

The above-mentioned eight aspects are only the indicators of improved living conditions among individual families of workers and staff members. In fact, the party and government have made efforts to improve the people's living standards by developing the cultural, educational, sports, public health and social welfare services, by implementing the labor insurance system, and by giving special care to disabled servicemen and to family members of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen. Along with the development of the socialist modernization drive, living standards of families of workers and staff members in the municipality will be further improved.

CSO: 4005/872

## NORTH REGION

### BRIEFS

PERSONNEL CHANGES--On the morning of 27 July, the standing committee of the municipal people's congress held the 13th meeting to examine and make some personnel changes of the municipal people's government, the municipal higher people's court, and the municipal people's procuratorate. Liu iu Zengti [0491 1073 4398] was appointed chief of religious affairs section under the Tianjin people's government; Xue Shangen [5641 1424 1869] was appointed deputy chief procurator of the Tianjin Higher People's Court. Xue Shangen [5641 1424 1869] was removed from the post of deputy president of the Tianjin Intermediate People's Court. [Excerpts] [SK310747 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 84 p 3]

HEBEI TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENTS--Hebei has basically completed the work of establishing township governments in the rural areas. By the end of July, the province had set up 3,231 township governments and 31,198 village residents' committees. Communes which had already formed into local political, economic, cultural and welfare centers have been changed into towns [zhen]. The number of towns has thus increased from 52 to 363, and a network of small towns has taken shape in the province, creating favorable conditions for developing rural commodity production and enlivening rural economy and culture. The province has also revived or established 74 minority-nationality townships. The average age of the township leadership groups in the province is 39, a drop of 4.4 years compared with previously. The number of members with educational standards at and above senior secondary school has increased by 60 percent. [Summary] [HK050249 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 27 Aug 84]

NEI MONGGOL MONGOLIAN LANGUAGE--Thanks to the party's policies towards minority nationalities, the Mongolian language has made new progress in the Nei Monggol Region. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, CPC committees and governments at all levels in the region have used Han and Mongolian characters while sending official communications to other organizations and used Han and Mongolian languages while holding important meetings. Since 1979, the Nei Monggol People's Publishing House alone has published 580,000 copies of Mongolian books annually. Now, there are 27 varieties of Mongolian magazines and 18 kinds of Mongolian newspapers in the region. So far the region has 3,000 Mongolian primary and middle schools with a total enrollment of 511,000 students. Among the 82 secondary profession schools in the region, 26 have offered courses on the Mongolian language and 6,600 students receive

education in the Mongolian language. Among the 14 higher learning institutes, 8 give lessons in the Mongolian language and these 8 institutes have a total enrollment of 5,800 students. The region also has 350 Mongolian kindergartens with a total enrollment of 10,000 children. [Summary] [SK051140 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Sep 84]

CSO: 4005/872

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### ANTIAIRCRAFT ARTILLERY RESERVE SERVICE DIVISION

Lanzhou LANZHOU BAO in Chinese 20 Jun 84 p 1

[Short Commentary: "Congratulating the Men of the Lanzhou Antiaircraft Artillery Reserve Service Division for Implementing the Principles of 'Preparing for Danger in Times of Peace,' and 'Every Citizen a Soldier'"]

[Text] Today is the birthday of the Lanzhou Antiaircraft Artillery Reserve Division of the PLA. The organization of the reserve division is an important step in our municipality's implementation of the relevant provisions of the new Military Service Law, in strengthening the building of national defense reserve strength, as it is also an important event observed by all the more than 2 million people of this municipality.

As modern science and technology and its applications in military affairs have developed, the scope of modern warfare has expanded in an unprecedented way, warfare has become of a suddenness and destructiveness as never before, and the military forces and the manpower involved in warfare, as well as the material consumption, have increased on an unprecedented scale. The building of a national defense reserve force has therefore become an important strategic question with direct bearing on the security and survival of the nation. By building such a reserve force we can adopt a system of every citizen becoming a soldier, which makes it possible to support fewer soldiers in times of peace but still maintain a large military force when war comes. In case war should break out, the PLA could serve as the mainstay, while new formations could be organized with the greatest speed on the basis of the available militia and reserve forces, mobilizing the people of the entire nation to drown the hostile aggressor in the vast ocean of a people's war.

Lanzhou is a strategically important point for a future war against aggression. It is the ardent expectation of the party and the people to build the Lanzhou antiaircraft reserve service division into a military unit of excellent organization, perfectly equipped, well trained, capable of being contracted, capable of being expanded, firing accurately and truly up to the mark in every respect, to be formed into a unit valiant and skillful in battle, "ready to assemble at the first call, and capable of fighting and winning." We believe that the officers and men who responded to the call of the motherland and serve in the reserve will certainly display the spirit

of patriotism and revolutionary heroism and make their own due contribution to the defense of their socialist motherland.

Our warmest congratulations on the establishment of the Lanzhou Antiaircraft Artillery Reserve Division!

9808

CSO: 4005/790

CHENG MING ON ELECTION FAILURE OF MACAO 'LEFTISTS'

HK080630 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 83, 1 Sep 84 pp 6-10, 82

[Article by Macao contributing correspondent Liu Li [0491 4418]: "A Warning for Hong Kong People--Background to the Attempts of Macao 'Leftists' To Manipulate the Elections"--first two paragraphs are CHENG MING introduction]

[Text] In the recent Macao Legislative Assembly elections, the performance of the Macao "leftists" was quite dramatic: They were indifferent at the beginning and all of a sudden they changed their position and intervened, with vote canvassing on the state and behind-the-scenes deals coming simultaneously. They had been determined to win all the six seats, only to deplore the loss of two. After the elections a "serious earthquake" occurred within the "leftists" ranks....

The work styles and artifices of the "Macao communists" during the Macao elections, which ran counter to democratic principles, serve as a good mirror, from which Hong Kong people, who are concerned about the future of Hong Kong, will gain much benefit.

The results of the third Macao Legislative Assembly elections were published on 15 August. However, the press circles are still divided about the success or failure of the elections. Quite a few people hold that the assembly elections represent a setback for the "leftist" forces in Macao, but there are also people who deny this point. On 19 August the Macao Information Department even transmitted an 18 August report from the Hong Kong English newspaper SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST which pointed out that Beijing had intervened in the elections. This roused the indignation of the "Macao Communist" "leftist newspaper," which reacted immediately by attacking the SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST and categorically denying China's intervention in the elections.

What was the real situation, then? With these questions in mind, this reporter interviewed people from all walks of life and unearthed much news hitherto unreported.

Facts prove that the attempts of some people to deny the failure of the "leftists" cannot be justified and that it does not conform with the facts to say that Beijing had intervened in the elections. The fact is that Beijing had no intention of meddling or intervening in the Macao Legislative Assembly elections. It was the "Macao communists" who meddle or intervened in the elections.

Let the actual state of affairs speak for themselves.

### The "Three-legged Stool" of Macao

According to the "Organizational Regulations of Macao," the Legislative Assembly consists of 17 deputies. Of these, five are appointed by the Macao governor, six are indirectly elected, and another six are directly elected by universal suffrage. In the present elections, the scramble was centered on the six seats directly elected by universal suffrage. This is because the six seats indirectly elected are held by the representatives of economic, moral, charitable, cultural and other organizations, while the other six seats directly elected by universal suffrage are to be contested by the various political forces in Macao. Moreover, because this was a "direct" election, the strength of various political forces could naturally be judged from the votes they gained in the direct elections. For this reason, all parties concerned attached great importance to the direct elections for the six seats.

The political strength of the various factions in Macao and their relationships are very subtle. There are three major political forces in Macao, namely, the pro-Beijing "leftist" Chinese forces, the Macanese of Portuguese nationality, and the senior officials appointed by Portugal to reflect its ruling power and represented by the Macao governor. Therefore, they are called the "three-legged stool." As everybody knows, the rightist forces hardly exist in Macao while the "leftist" forces dominated by the Chinese authorities are very powerful. In the past, however, the "leftist" forces had no intention of dominating the seats in the Legislative Assembly, which serves as an organ of power. Reportedly, it was aimed at showing full consideration for the interests of various parties. As a matter of fact, this was only a means of "united front work."

The present assembly elections can also be regarded as contention for power by the three political forces. But it was strange that from the very beginning, the "leftist" forces assumed an indifferent and even negative attitude toward the assembly elections. The "leftist Federation of Trade Unions and neighborhood associations declared they would not participate in the elections. The "leftist newspaper" regarded it as a "trick of the bourgeoisie" and denounced those Chinese taking part in the elections as "bartering away their honor for the patronage of some reactionary bigwig." When Ma Man-kee registered as a voter, they also expressed their dissatisfaction in a subtle manner, which incurred the dislike of Ma Man-kee.

Why did the "leftist" forces adopt such an "aloof" attitude? We should seek an answer to this question from the subtle relations of the "three-legged stool."

[HK080632] The Macao Governor Attempts To "Make Use of the Chinese To Bring the Macanese Under Control"

In the power structure of Macao, a most strained relationship has existed between the government which is represented by the Macao governor, and which reflects the direct rule of Portugal over Macao, and the Macanese



deputies in the Legislative Assembly. At the beginning of this year Macao Governor Vasco de Almeida e Costa forcibly dissolved the second Macao Legislative Assembly by an order from Portuguese President Antonio dos Santos Ramalho Eanes. This was an outcome of the intensified contradictions. It should be noted that the Legislative Assembly in the Macao political system is not quite identical to the Hong Kong Legislative Council. Like a miniature congress, the Macao Legislative Assembly forms a tripod along with the government council (the executive powers) and the Consultative Council [ping yi hui 6097 6231 2585] (judiciary powers), which can supervise the government. It possesses considerable legislative powers. The Legislative Assembly is not subjected to the control of the government but rather may voice its doubts about the government's work, veto a bill put forward by the government, and then formulate a bill of its own. Under this setup, the traditional dictatorial style of Portugal is subject to restrictions in Macao. The chairman of the second Macao Legislative Assembly was Carlos d'Assumpcao, the leader of the Macanese. Obviously, the relations between Assumpcao and Governor Costa were strained and so they fought a battle of wits in the assembly. On the other hand, there were a lot of factions among the Macanese in the Legislative Assembly. These factions were subject to the influence and domination of the various Portuguese parties and were in fact their Macao "branches." Thus, the factional struggle in Portugal was imperceptibly brought to the Macao Legislative Assembly and caused divergent political views. This was the most knotty problem confronting Governor Costa in his administration.

The Macao governor caused the Legislative Assembly to be dissolved on the pretext of implementing the plan for "the Chinese to participate in government and political affairs." He knew very well that the Macao "leftist" Chinese followed the intentions of Beijing and would not oppose Portugal and the Macao government. And so he made use of this plan to dissolve the Legislative Assembly and to amend the electoral and voter registration laws so that more Chinese residents could qualify as voters. He hoped to place more "leftist" Chinese in the Legislative Assembly and thus achieve the aim of excluding the Macanese and controlling the Legislative Assembly. This was a trick of "ousting the ghosts with the aid of Zhong Kui."

#### The "Leftists" Should Support the Opposing Parties

However, the "leftist" Chinese in Macao assumed an "Aloof" attitude. In keeping with the intention of the Chinese authorities, the "leftist" Chinese should support both Governor Costa and the Macanese. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in February 1979, the relations between China and Portugal have entered a new stage. When China and Portugal established diplomatic relations, the status of Macao was stipulated in explicit terms: "The Macao area is the territory of the PRC temporarily entrusted to the Portuguese government for its administration." Since Macao was "entrusted to the Portuguese government for its administration," the Chinese authorities had no reason not to support Governor Costa in exercising his executive powers. Therefore, the "leftist" Chinese must maintain good relations with the governor in order to reflect Sino-Portuguese friendship. On the other hand, the Macanese also constitute a force not to be ignored by the Chinese authorities. They are the special targets of "united front work" of the Chinese authorities in Macao.

Usually, Macanese refer to the descendants of the Portuguese whose forefathers lived in Macao for several generations, and most of them are people of mixed blood. Their forefathers were basically soldiers and traders who settled in Macao many years ago and many of them married Chinese women. After several generations of mixed marriages and reproduction, the Portuguese blood in some Macanese is very slight now. The identity of these people is quite special, since they possess both their Portuguese citizenship and their Macao identity cards. That is to say, they are Portuguese but they are also identified as Hong Kong and Macao compatriots who are entitled to enter or leave the Chinese mainland with "home-visiting certificates of Hong Kong and Macao compatriots." This precisely shows their superiority over the ordinary Chinese. Even if China recovers Macao, these people will not return to Portugal because the Portuguese economy is in a very poor state. If they should return, it would be difficult for them to support themselves. Therefore, they regard Macao as their native place. Because they identified themselves to a considerable extent with China, they maintain an intimate relationship with the "leftist" Chinese. The "leftist" Chinese, however, regard them as targets for their "united front work" and support them politically. The reason for Assumpcao's success in defeating official Legislative Assembly Deputy (Shen qi shi) [3947 7871 1102] and occupying the throne of the chairman of the Second Legislative Assembly was because Ho Yin and Ma Man-kee voted for him.

[HK080634] The "Macao Communist" Canvass Votes for the Macanese

After gaining a clear idea of the subtle relationships of the "three-legged stool" mentioned above, we will understand why the Macao "leftist" Chinese were not interested in the direct assembly elections at the beginning. As far as the "leftists" were concerned, there was no problem in preserving their seats in the assembly due to their tremendous influence in Macao and, even if several Macanese had succeeded in entering the assembly, it would also have been a victory for the "leftist" forces. Naturally, adopting an "aloof" attitude did not mean that they did not do any work. As a matter of fact, the "Macao communists" had meddled in some work before the assembly elections.

Although the "Macao communists" receive instructions from Beijing, they often try to be different. And the problem precisely lies here. Beijing intended them not to intervene in the Legislative Assembly elections and hoped that they would show consideration for the interests of various parties in order to make Macao prosperous. However, the "Macao communists" tried by every possible means to canvass votes for the Macanese and to help them enter the Legislative Assembly in an attempt to show that they had done their "united front" work perfectly. For this reason, before the assembly election the "Macao communists" introduced Assumpcao, a Macanese, to Ji Pengfei in Beijing at the end of June in the hope of enhancing his prestige. When Assumpcao left for Beijing, the "Macao communist" newspaper AOMEN RIBAO [MACAO DAILY] made a big publicity of him "in order to lend impetus and strength to his departure."

## Ji Pengfei Criticized Macanese Leader Assumpcao

Unexpectedly, like a deflated rubber ball, AOMEN RIBAO did not utter a word when Assumpcao returned to Macao. It happened that he had suffered a "staggering blow" from Ji Pengfei.

When Ji met Assumpcao in Beijing, he did not treat Assumpcao as coldly as Deng Xiaoping had treated Sze-yuen Chung, but he dissuaded Assumpcao from setting himself against the Macao governor. Ji also told Assumpcao that he hoped people from all walks of life in Macao would unite, come to a mutual understanding, work together, and preserve the stability and prosperity of Macao. This was tantamount to a criticism of Assumpcao's faults and of the "Macao communist" violation of the spirit of the central authorities.

Having been criticized, Assumpcao was a little crestfallen when he returned to Macao. Nobody welcomed him at the pier. When reporters asked him questions, he did not dare utter a single sentence. And the press conference originally arranged by his partners was also canceled. This was contrary to the expectations of the "Macao communists."

## The Rise of the Third Force

The second dramatic change was that an unexpected event made it necessary for the "Macao communists" to make hasty preparations at the last moment.

According to the original plan of the "Macao communists," they would not take any actions concerning the assembly elections, nor would they do any publicity work among the Chinese voters in their subordinate organizations. This was because they thought that their forces were strong enough to have the situation under control and that the results of the elections would be as they expected. However, "man proposes, Heaven disposes." As soon as the election campaign started, a "third force" with powerful backing suddenly came forward to run in the elections. The third force chiefly consists of commercial upstarts in the industrial and commercial circles and young professionals in Macao (not the professionals who arrived in Macao from the mainland). The "leftists" have always looked down upon these two categories of people. Judging from their political inclinations, they are basically neutral and identify themselves with the Beijing authorities. A number of people who had suddenly become rich have invested heavily on the mainland. But they do not belong to the "leftist" circles and are looked down upon and envied by the "leftists." The young professionals are particularly vigorous. They are especially dissatisfied with the consistently conservative style of the "leftist" leaders the past 3 decades and hope to accomplish something.

## Some Behind-the-Scenes Deals

The sudden entrance of the third force into the election contest threw the "Macao communists" into confusion. Knowing that the third force would certainly take away a lot of votes, which was unfavorable to their support for Assumpcao, they hastily changed their normal behavior of taking no action and tried to find a countermeasure.

This made it necessary for the "leftists" to take up the matter themselves. Beside doing much vote canvassing by vigorously urging the voters belonging to the "leftist" organizations to register as voters and to participate in the voting, they also spared no efforts in carrying out all sorts of behind-the-scenes activities and deals.

For example, a certain prestigious Mr Tsui of the third force wanted to run in the elections. The "Macao communists" offered him an excellent situation, assigning him a member of the provincial CPPCC, in exchange for his withdrawal from the elections.

[HK080636] The "Excelsior Summit Meeting"

Take another example. The three senior Chinese employees of the Macao Entertainment Company also planned to run in the elections in the capacity of the third force, and so the "leftists" asked Stanley Ho to dissuade the three senior Chinese employees working under him from running in the elections.

What was most significant was the "Excelsior summit meeting" secretly held by the "three-legged stool." With Stanley Ho and Ma Man-kee acting as go-betweens, the "summit meeting" was attended by Governor Costa; the two leaders of the Nam Kong Trading Co, Ke Zheng-ping and Zheng Hua; Ma Man-kee, and Macanese leader Assumpcao. On 2 July the three parties sat together in a "reconciliation feast" at the Excelsior, a high-class hotel which opened last May. The purpose of the meeting was to mitigate the contradictions between Costa and Assumpcao and to decide through consultations the persons running in the elections in order to deal with the third force.

At the meeting, the responsible persons of Nam Kong Trading Co explained their common interests and asked that the chairman of the next Legislative Assembly (the third Legislative Assembly soon to be elected) be still held by Assumpcao (who was the chairman of the dissolved second Legislative Assembly). The Macao governor did them a favor by complying with their request. He stated, however, that the members of those Macanese political parties, such as the Free Association [zi you xie hui 5261 3945 0588 2585], should not be allowed to enter the Legislative Assembly for fear that the assembly would be turned into a battlefield for various political parties.

At the "Excelsior summit meeting," the question of the candidates running in the elections was discussed and a bargain was made. On behalf of the Macanese forces, Assumpcao put forward a list of three candidates, namely Assumpcao, Annabela Ritchie (female), and Morais Alves (the last two being the capable assistants of Assumpcao). The other two parties, however, put forward the names of Lao Cheok-we (representative of the Federation of Trade Unions), Mesquita Borges, and Leonel Alves.

Next followed a dispute over the arrangements of the names of the six candidates. Assumpcao wanted to place the names of his candidates in the front row, with Assumpcao first, followed by Annabela Ritchie and Morais Alves. Governor Costa, however, disagreed. He wanted to put Annabela Ritchie and Morais Alves in the fifth and sixth places. Afraid that they might not be

elected if placed in the fifth and sixth places, Assumpcao felt uneasy. Being locked in a stalemate, the representatives of Nam Kong said that it would not make any difference if Annabela Ritchie and Morais Alves were put in the fifth and sixth places because the voters of their organizations would vote for them and those six would be elected anyway. Finally, the namelist was fixed according to the view of the governor.

#### The Large "Leftist" Nomination Committee

Moreover, in an effort to deal with the third force conscientiously, the "leftists" also formed an "electoral union" after the "Excelsior summit meeting" in order to run in the elections. The members of the "committee" had a strong lineup, consisting of 152 people, including the responsible persons of the "leftist" trade unions, organizations, and institutions, NPC deputies, members of the CPPCC, as well as the three senior Chinese employees of the Entertainment Company who had withdrawn from the election campaign. A vigorous vote canvassing drive was unfolded under the unified command of this "committee."

#### The "Leftist" Workers and Staff Members Had a Day Off To Enable Them To Vote

On election day, the "leftists" were even more nervous than the others. On that day, the factories and companies of some "leftist" units and organizations simply had a day off to enable the workers and staff members to vote; some dispatched factory cars to transport the workers to the polling stations to vote; and some "leftist" businessmen even issued five patacas to the voting workers as a "compensation for their loss of work." A number of people said that this was the first time that the "labor and management had cooperated."

#### Setback--A Loss of More Than 40 Percent of Votes

However, a most dramatic event occurred. After the results of the elections were published, the "leftist" "Electoral Union" was surprised that it could only get 58.5 percent of the votes, that is to say, more than 40 percent of the votes which they had intended to get were won by others.

[HK080638] Who had the skills to take away the votes from the "leftists"? They were chiefly the third force--Alexandre Ho, a candidate of the third force and of the Flower of Friendship and Development of Macao Party, was elected; Alberto Ferreira of the pro-Macao group, who was vigorously supported by Governor Costa, also won a seat. The "leftist" forces, which had regarded the six directly elected seats in the assembly as something certain of attaining, could only win four seats (the ones elected being Assumpcao, Borges, Lao Cheok-wa, and Leonel Alves). This could not but be regarded as the first setback of the Macao "leftist" forces.

#### How Did the Loss of So Many Votes Come About?

Beside the third force taking away a large number of votes, there was another point meriting our attention. A considerable number of people among the

patriotic Chinese were dissatisfied with the conservative practice of the "leftists" and their about-face during the election. Therefore, a number of "leftist" voters voted for the third force, and there was also a considerable number of voters who adopted the practice of "pretending politeness and compliance." An examination of the votes showed that there were about 1,700 invalid votes (500 of them being blank votes). It can be imagined that if these invalid votes had been valid, the "leftist" "Electoral Union" would have won at least another seat.

#### The Complaint of the "Leftists" Against the Governor

Most significantly, the two persons from the "Electoral Union" who failed to be elected--Annabela Ritchie and Morais Alves--were precisely those who Governor Costa insisted on putting in fifth and sixth places in the namelist. For this reason, the "leftist" figures criticized the governor for "going back on his word," for failing to support their candidates, and for having his "trusted follower" elected. This censure was naturally ridiculously childish because the governor had approved only their namelist at the "summit meeting" but he could not guarantee that the six would all be elected. Whether they would be elected had to be decided through democratic procedures. We can thus see that the democratic concept of the "leftists" came to nothing.

From 17 August the citizens' association held a series of meetings, at which some people pressed for Assumpcao's resignation. However, Assumpcao refused and Nam Kong stood up against his resignation. The reasons were: If Assumpcao should fall from power, Nam Kong would be criticized by the Beijing authorities; second, if Assumpcao should resign, Macao would surely be thrown into greater confusion; and third, there was only 1 year before Costa's term of office expired while the Legislative Assembly was elected for a term of 4 years. After the governor had left Macao, Assumpcao would be able to give a good account of himself. Evidently, it was "sensible" of him not to resign.

#### A Serious Earthquake Erupted Within the Macao Communists

Assumpcao did not resign but Zheng Hua, the number two man in Nam Kong Trading Co and its assistant general manager, who had been regarded as a successor to Ke Zhengping, the number one man in that company, was suddenly transferred. It now has been disclosed that Zheng will probably be transferred to Hong Kong in the near future and that Zheng's position will probably be assumed by Li Yaoqi, chief of the Guangdong Tourism Bureau.

Besides being a victory for the third force, the elections also represented a victory for Governor Costa because the new Legislative Assembly does not have members of the Portuguese political parties. Now will it be affected by the politics and the struggle of the political parties in Portugal.

#### A Fault of the "Leftists" Caused by Being Too Self-Important

Judging from the whole process of the Legislative Assembly elections, the chief cause for the failure of the "leftist" forces lies in the fact that they miscalculated the situation and overestimated their own strength.



As everybody knows, Macao has always been under the domination of the Chinese communist "leftist" forces who always keep the whole situation under control. However, times have changed and the democratic concept of the citizens is developing. The new generation of young men also refuse to follow others blindly, or to chime in with others, for they have independent ideas. With the old "leftists" dead or old, they can no longer keep the younger generation completely under control and their high-handed way of dealing with people will no longer work.

However, the "leftist" figures shut their eyes to the changing situation, self-confidently thinking that the "leftist" organizations are still under their control. As a result, they were thrown into confusion at the sudden rise of the third force and met their "waterloo" in the elections.

[HK080640] The "(Handi) [3352 3695] Proportional Law" Is Favorable to the Third Force

A typical example of being excessively self-confident was manifested in the issue of arranging the order of the six candidates at the "summit meeting." The governor and Assumpcao, who were familiar with the Portuguese electoral law, stuck to their own views but the "leftists," who were confident about their capabilities to win all the seats under any circumstances, were not worried at all. They had not realized that according to the methods of calculation stipulated in the "(Handi) Proportional Law" of the Portuguese electoral law, the voters only vote for the organizations running in the elections and the votes won by each candidate are calculated according to the overall votes won by the organization and the inverse proportion of the arrangements of order of the candidates. For example, there were six candidates of the "leftist" "Electoral Union," which won a total of 16,003 votes. But the votes were not distributed evenly among the six candidates but were calculated according to the inverse proportion of the arrangements of order. Assumpcao, who was placed first, got 16,003 votes when the total votes were divided by 1; Borges, who was placed second, got 8,001.5 votes when the total votes were divided by 2; and Annabela Ritchie, who was placed fifth, got 3,200.6 votes when the total votes were divided by 5. The Flower of Friendship and Development of Macao Party of the third force also put forward four candidates. Although it won only a total of 3,574 votes, its candidate Alexandre Ho, who was placed first, got 3,574 votes, 374 votes more than the number won by Annabela Ritchie. As a matter of fact, with the Electoral Union putting forward as many as six candidates, it would not have won all the seats even if it had got 80 percent of the votes, let alone the 58.5 percent of votes it actually gained.

#### A Mirror for Hong Kong

The result of the Macao elections is perhaps of no importance to Hong Kong people who are not quite familiar with the political background in Macao. However, the open strife and veiled struggle waged by the "leftist" figures in the course of the elections serve as a reference that should not be overlooked by the Hong Kong people who are highly concerned about the future of Hong Kong after 1997.

Hong Kong is slightly different from Macao in that the "Hong Kong communists" are still unlikely to have the whole situation under control. But the situation will not be like this after 1997. At that time the "Hong Kong communists" will possess all the requirements to become the "overlord" of Hong Kong as the "Macao communists" now do. When going on news-gathering missions, this reporter often heard Hong Kong travelers in Macao say that since the beginning of this year, quite a few "uncles" (communist cadres) have arrived in Hong Kong, many of whom reportedly have come to Hong Kong to carry out "investigation and study" in preparation for the takeover of Hong Kong. In the meantime, this reporter also learned that the "Hong Kong communists" are now much more "active" than they were before. For example, in an effort to participate in the next district board elections, the "leftist" organizations have asked the department concerned for more than 200,000 voter registration forms. This shows that the "Hong Kong communists" are actively "participating in political affairs."

At present, what merits our attention is the local forces of the CPC. Having their own independent circles or "kingdom" formed over many years, they can imperceptibly bring their influence into play. The principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee after 1997 may be correct (naturally, there might also be some problems) but the local "leftist" forces will probably do what suits themselves. The performance of the "Macao communists" in the Legislative Assembly elections serves as a mirror for a future Hong Kong. Will the future "Hong Kong communists" trample upon democratic principles and treat the people as if they were fools as did the "Macao communists" in the Macao elections: Naturally, we cannot be 100 percent sure. However, the Hong Kong people should draw lessons from the Macao elections.

Listen, a warning for the Hong Kong people has been sounded!

CSO: 4005/855



HONG KONG'S RESISTANCE ANGERS COMMUNIST CHINA

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese 1 Jul 84 pp 11-12

[Article by Ma Bing [7456 0393]: "Chinese Communists Are Impatient With Hong Kong People"]

[Text] When receiving Zhong Shiyuan [6988 1102 0337], Deng Lianru [6772 5571 1172], and Li Guowei [0448 0948 0251], three unofficial members of Hong Kong's two councils [executive and legislative], Deng Xiaoping said the following in front of reporters.

"You can say what you want, but I want to say this: The policies, principles and stand decided by the central government of China are firm and unshakeable, and no matter how many people understand them, I believe they suit the interests of the 5 million people. I hear many different opinions, but I don't agree that they represent the interests of the Hong Kong people."

These words were said face to face with the three councilmen, but they were actually meant for the 5 million Hong Kong people. Through the import of the words we Hong Kong people could not but strongly feel: The Chinese Communists are already impatient with the Hong Kong people!

The impatience of the Chinese Communists with the Hong Kong people has both a remote and an immediate cause.

"Nonsense Talk" Also Reubkes Hong Kong People

Ever since Mrs Thatcher visited Beijing in the autumn of 1982 and China formally told Britain it would take back Hong Kong's sovereignty, Hong Kong has had a series of shocks. To reassure the Hong Kong people, the Chinese Communist leaders have written many promissory notes for them. These promissory notes were taken back after Hong Kong personages of various types visited Beijing as if on a merry-go-round.

When Beijing announced that it would take back Hong Kong and also announced the policy of "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong and preserving Hong Kong's prosperity," Beijing did not truly understand the situation in Hong Kong and also did not formulate a series of emergency measures. The people who went to Beijing in reality represented the interests of various different social circles which harbored various different motives. Beijing thought that those who

came to Beijing were patriots who supported the takeback of sovereignty and who advocated Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong and that they spoke a "common patriotic language," so with regard to their requests it granted almost everything that was asked. Afterward the Beijing side discovered that some of the requests were too unreasonable, and it could not avoid a feeling of discontent. There even appeared a situation of its going back on its word.

For example, after it promised to allow "feasts, horse races and dances," recently some people said that they would organize a group to go to Beijing and request a reply on whether spirits could be honored at the Ghost Festival as before. If even for this request, some people wanted to organize a group to "visit" Beijing (actually there was a hint that they would take a petition), it is not strange that Beijing flew into a rage from shame! Since this is the case, the Huang-Ta Hsien, T'ien-hou Temple and Che-king Temple will organize a group to request "consideration for their ceremonies," and every "house" and "phoenix," massage parlor and so forth could organize "phoenix women" and massage girls to form groups to go to Beijing and apply for "roosts for the phoenixes and pressure for the fingers."

Beijing's impatience was first revealed in May of this year when a group of New Territories personages returned from Beijing. When they had proposed an extension of the "50 years of no change," Ji Pengfei, director of the Office of Hong Kong and Macao Affairs, immediately, and with an air of displeasure, rebuked them, "There is nothing extraordinary about Hong Kong!" In order to avoid panic in Hong Kong, this statement was afterward revised to "There is nothing extraordinary about Hong Kong's present industrial base." Subsequently, when the Hong Kong people were worrying about whether troops would be stationed in Hong Kong, Deng Xiaoping gave a loud shout: "Since the Chinese government will take back the sovereignty over Hong Kong, it is very clear that it will have the right to station troops there! How can it not have this right? Isn't it China's territory?" On the surface Mr Deng was rebuking the "nonsense talk" of two vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee, Huang Hua and Geng Biao, but in reality he was rebuking the Hong Kong people whose opinions were at variance.

#### "If You Don't Drink a Toast You Must Pay a Drinking Forfeit"

Why are the Chinese leaders so impatient, and have even taken back certain promises made in the past? On analysis there are the following reasons:

First, the Chinese Communist leaders at first inspired the Hong Kong compatriots with the big banner of "nationalism" and, based on the reaction of the Hong Kong leftists, thought that the Hong Kong people loved China and its party, that after they had taken back Hong Kong's sovereignty, "toasts would be drunk" and even when the Liberation Army moved into Hong Kong, the common people would "welcome them with food and drink." Therefore, Yao Guang once said with righteous dignity to reporters "we are all Chinese" in order to make the Hong Kong and Macao compatriots abandon their own views and interests under the banner of nationalism. Contrary to their expectations, the Hong Kong people had not yet attained the communist state of being docile tools, but on the contrary, in all matters showed an attitude of stubbornness and intractability, which was a big disappointment to the Chinese Communist leaders.

Second, the anger of the Chinese Communist leaders was touched off after [Geoffrey] Howe [British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs] "20 April" statement, namely, after Britain formally and publicly stated its renunciation of Hong Kong. The Chinese Communist leaders thought that "the outcome was a foregone conclusion," since they had no fear of collusion between the Hong Kong people and the British. Therefore, they thought they could gradually take back the previous overstated promises. They called some overstated or now unsuitable promises "nonsense talk." The question of stationing troops was one example of them. Recently, in talking about solving the problem of Taiwan before 1997, Zheo Ziyang took back what he had said previously about Hong Kong being an example for Taiwan of "one country with two systems."

Third, with regard to its statement about "no change in the system for 50 years," China was not acknowledging the superiority of Hong Kong's system, and thus it wants to study Hong Kong and make it recognize its identity with China. China mainly fears that if an upheaval is caused in Hong Kong, China's foreign exchange earnings will be adversely affected. Therefore, to appease the Hong Kong people they had to assume an air of being compassionate, professing to want to "show consideration" for the Hong Kong people, to "give preferential treatment" and "be magnanimous" to the Hong Kong people. Last year there was a big outflow of Hong Kong currency, and the Chinese Communists suffered a big loss in foreign exchange, which felt very painful and made them feel even more the necessity for an appeasement policy. But the dominant idea in China's taking back Hong Kong is "not to be a second Li Hongzhang" and "to be worthy of the array of ancestors," and it is not to be worthy of the Hong Kong people, and it is not for the purpose of preserving the human rights and freedom of the Hong Kong people.

Therefore, once any problem appears, economic interests must be relegated to second place and should even be sacrificed. An official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs once publicly said that the Chinese government would rather have sovereignty over Hong Kong than its prosperity. After China suffered the big loss last year, there has not been any of this kind of undisguised talk, but this idea still exists. Therefore, then the Hong Kong people make too many requests, the Chinese leaders develop a psychology of "if you don't drink a toast, you must pay a drinking forfeit" and display impatience toward, and even lose their temper with, the Hong Kong people.

#### The Hong Kong People Should Be Tactful

Looking at the present situation, we see that China and Britain have not yet signed an agreement on the problem of Hong Kong's future, and the main contradiction is in the area of China's and Britain's international relations. However, following Britain's day-by-day renunciation of Hong Kong, the contradictions between China and Hong Kong have become more and more prominent. Formerly, the nationality contradiction was primary, but now this has gradually changed to the class contradiction becoming primary (the Chinese Communists claim to represent the proletariat, and Hong Kong has a capitalist system and naturally represents the interests of the bourgeoisie). Particularly when the fundamental law is formulated on the future and specific details need to be discussed, problems will appear. This is China's internal affair, and

Britain cannot come forward and represent Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Government is a "colonialist government" and naturally cannot come forward, so that the Hong Kong people are gradually falling into the plight of being a group without a leader, and at that time must even more completely depend on China's "good intentions," "magnanimity" and "consideration" to formulate this fundamental law. Following the ever greater political and economic influence of the Chinese Communists on Hong Kong, there are more and more "distant relatives" and "quasi-distant relatives." One can envisage that there will be less and less talk about "preserving the interests of the Hong Kong people" and there will be fewer and fewer promises from China. If a Hong Kong person is not tactful and still makes a disturbance, I believe that more rebukes similar to that given to the "nonsense talk" and "there is nothing extraordinary" will erupt from the mouths of the number-two-men around Deng Xiaoping and Ji Pengfei. At that time Hong Kong will assent to this measure of itself and can only become a second Macao. Perhaps the Hong Kong currency will circulate as before, but the dynamic Hong Kong will probably never recover from this setback.

The Hong Kong people seem to be "insatiably avaricious," but we should not blame them too much, because the Chinese Communists' promise of "no change in the system" is too sweeping, and people of all trades and professions want to make sure of their own "no change." There was no reason for Deng Xiaoping to lose his temper, because on 2 November 1982, "without sending one soldier," when receiving a delegation of the Hong Kong and Macao Chamber of Commerce, Liao Chengzhi, then director of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office, said that the Hong Kong people think that the Chinese Communists are a little more democratic than before and therefore a lot more requests will be made. Unexpectedly, people still ran away and the government stopped, and Liao Chengzhi's promise did not carry weight.

Then, is there a way to avoid this situation of repudiating promises? It looks as if the only way is for China to recognize that Hong Kong's way of doing things is superior to that of the mainland (something which several decades of practice have already proved). China must not only "give consideration" to Hong Kong, and it need not bestow favors on Hong Kong, but rather study with an open mind Hong Kong's freedom and legal system and also spread it in China. However, in Zhao Ziyang's recent speech in Paris he also denied the possibility of the Hong Kong system "spreading" to the mainland, and therefore the chance of this happening is very minute. It will happen only when the law that "ruling classes do not voluntarily withdraw from the state of history" becomes invalid; otherwise, the Chinese Communists will not renounce the "leadership of the party."

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COUNCILMEN EXPRESS HONG KONG'S ANXIETIES TO DENG

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese 1 Jul 84 pp 8-9

[Article by Tao Jun [7118 0689]: "A Sharp Dialogue--Blunt Talk in Beijing by Zhong Shiyuan, Deng Lianru and Li Guowei"]

[Text] The trip to Beijing by Zhong Shiyuan [6988 1102 0337], Deng Lianru [6772 5571 1172] and Li Guowei [0448 0948 0251], nonofficial members of the two councils [executive and legislative] of Hong Kong, led to a direct dialogue between people who know the wishes of the Hong Kong masses and the highest policymaker in Beijing on the Hong Kong problem.

Previously, many representatives of organizations and many individuals had gone to Beijing. Some of them went with a pro-communist attitude, some went to try to find out the cards in the officials' hands, some of them had the attitude of keeping themselves clean and pure, some of them were no more than tactful and some of them were even flatterers and toadies. The only time there was blunt talk and the attitude of bearding the dragon in his den without being afraid was on this trip by the three councilmen.

On the television screen the people of Hong Kong saw Deng Xiaoping begin the interview with Zhong Shiyuan and the others. On one side of the room, Deng Xiaoping with dignified mien stressed that the three councilmen had come in their capacity as individuals, and on the other side, Zhong Shiyuan sternly replied that they had come in their status as councilmen. This confrontational scene caused all the Hong Kong people to have a heavy heart. When did Deng Xiaoping haggle over the status of these people? The three councilmen had only come to reflect opinions, not to demand that they take part in the talks or interfere in the talks, so why did he oversensitively connect them with the "three-legged stool" question? If everything first had to have a "proper name," then how does Deng Xiaoping himself, who is chairman of the Military Advisory Commission in name but head of the party and state in fact, have a "proper name"?

In the minds of many Hong Kong people, the spirit of Zhong Shiyuan and the others in unselfishly and courageously taking on the responsibility to act for the residents of Hong Kong at the very least better represented the wishes of the Hong Kong people than those "Hong Kong representatives" who were pro-Beijing or who fawned on Beijing.

Zhong Shiyuan said it well: "Only obsequious people are never insulted, but if one strives for something, he will certainly have enemies and friends, and in the political world he will encounter compromise, struggles and insults. If I were truly frightened, I would go to Britain and never return to Beijing."

What magnificent words!

Obsequious people are not insulted, but they humiliate themselves. They are first of all mollusks who have broken their own spines and lost their individual personalities. When Hong Kong is at this critical juncture of major change, what it needs is not mollusks but a batch of clanking warriors who do not bend before power and influence and who plead for the people.

However, looking back at Deng Xiaoping's behavior really makes one worry. Deng Xiaoping is becoming more and more like Mao Zedong, and in recent years he has time and again manifested the obstinate, domineering style of the supreme ruler of a big country. For the country this style is not necessarily an omen of good or bad luck, but it makes people think of the many arrogant acts of Mao Zedong in the past.

Deng Xiaoping said to the three visiting councilmen: "You can say what you want, but I want to say this: the policies, principles, and stands decided by the central government of China are firm and unshakeable, and no matter how many people understand them, I believe they suit the interests of the 5 million people. We hear many different opinions, but we don't agree that they represent the interests of all the people of Hong Kong."

This talk reveals two spirits. The first is that you say what you want to say and I'll do what I want to do, and even if you don't understand, it will still be done; the second is that nobody in Hong Kong represents the interests of the Hong Kong people, and only the policies decided by the central government of the PRC tally with the interests of the more than 5 million people of Hong Kong. These two spirits are highly incompatible with respect for popular will or democracy.

The idea that "even if you don't understand, it will still be done" seems familiar. It is very similar to Lin Biao's coercion in the practice of Mao Zedong's line more than 10 years ago. It is the supercentralism that demands absolute obedience. Now the important personage Deng seems to have unwittingly revived the ghost of Lin Biao in his own person and applied it to the problem of Hong Kong.

In Deng Xiaoping's view, the opinions held by just anybody are not the popular will. It is only the policies decided by the central government that coincide with the people's interests. There is no other name for this than official despotism [guanzhuzhuyi 1351 0031 0031 5030]. The people's democracy praised by the Communist Party of China for more than 20 years is in reality this kind of official despotism.

Official despotism is out of touch with reality and oversubjective and a flat negation of objective facts. Deng Xiaoping told the three councilmen that

Hong Kong basically does not have a problem of confidence. Of course, this sentence that he said was a "matter of form" and was not "nonsense," but when the over 5 million people of Hong Kong heard it, there could only be aroused in them anxiety that the distance between Zhongnanhai and Taipingshan is so great. Deng Xiaoping's attitude is: You say what you want, and I'll do what I want. The attitude of the three councilmen is that both sides should be heard. They are not responsible to Beijing but rather to the residents of Hong Kong. Even if Deng Xiaoping did not like to hear it, the three councilmen conversed with him for half an hour, expressing frankly and in great detail the anxieties and wishes of the Hong Kong people.

The anxieties are, of course, a problem of confidence. If the anxieties of the Hong Kong people about the period after 1997 are not dispelled completely, then there will be no stability and prosperity before 1997 and also none after it. I hope the Chinese authorities will learn a lesson from the past, when Mao Zedong was bent on having his own way, and will listen attentively with an open mind to what they do not like to hear.

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DENG: ONLY UK, PRC WILL DECIDE HONG KONG'S FUTURE

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese 1 Jul 84 pp 6-7

[Article by Xie Siming [6200 1835 2494]: "Deng Xiaoping Gives a Sobering Injection to Hong Kong People"]

[Text] On 23 June, Deng Xiaoping granted an unusual interview in the conference room named after his old home, Sichuan, in the Great Hall of the People. This was a "play with much action and singing" followed with interest by Hong Kong people when Zhong Shiyuan [6988 1102 0337], Deng Lianru [6772 5571 1172] and Li Guowei [0448 0948 0251], nonofficial members of the two councils [executive and legislative] visited Beijing--they were "honored" to be granted an interview with Chairman [Zhuren 0031 0017] Deng Xiaoping. It was a carefully arranged interview, but there was no group photograph and the host did not make a welcoming "overture" by going outside the conference room.

A Very Sharp "Negative"

The question of the "correct name" for the status of the councilmen was the first blow. At the very start Deng Xiaoping said: "I welcome you to Beijing in your status as individuals." That is to say, the Beijing authorities completely negated the status of Zhong Shiyuan and the other as "nonofficial" councilmen.

This was a very sharp "negative." Up to the moment that Zhong Shiyuan and the two others arrived at Beijing Airport, they were still telling reporters: "We are coming in the status of nonofficial members of the two councils." So after Deng Xiaoping said, "I welcome you to Beijing in your status as individuals," Sir Zhong immediately returned the blow with a blow by saying: "We three non-official councilmen of Hong Kong...."

Intuitively, one senses that Deng Xiaoping's motive in negating the councilman status of Zhong Shiyuan and the others was to show that Beijing insists on having no contacts with Hong Kong officials in order to avoid tacitly acquiescing in the existence of the "three-legged stool" (actually, this is a case of deceiving oneself as well as others, because even the governor of Hong Kong, the executive and legislative councils and the Hong Kong Government do not recognize this political entity, so the status of these councilmen cannot be negated), but the motive on a deeper level for Deng Xiaoping's negation was to show that



what the Chinese Communists were thinking was not pleasant to the ears of Hong Kong public opinion. Because the councilmen had stated that their aim was to reflect the anxieties and opinions of the Hong Kong people, to negate their status as councilmen and only recognize their "status as individuals" made it superfluous for them to put forward any "anxieties and opinions."

What Deng Publicly Said in This Conversation Has Sobered the People of Hong Kong

However, what most sobered the Hong Kong people was Deng Xiaoping's "blunt" talk. He said to the councilmen: "You can say what you want, but I want to say this: The policies, principles and stands decided by the central government of China are firm and unshakeable, and no matter how many people understand them, I believe they suit the interests of the 5 million people. I hear many different opinions, but I don't agree that they represent the interests of the Hong Kong people. You are aware of the talks between China and Britain. This problem must be solved with Britain, and there will not be any interference with this solution."

As of now this is the most earth-shattering statement by a Chinese Communist official on the question of Hong Kong's future, and, compared to the promises about "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" and "the capitalist system will not change for 50 years," compared to the indignant denunciations of Geng Biao's and Huang Hua's "nonsense talk," it possesses more of a deterrent force on the Hong Kong people and makes them more sober!

First, the Hong Kong people now finally understand that since the Sino-British talks on Hong Kong's future began, the opinions and comments vociferously made by the Hong Kong people, and even the endless stream of associations of all kinds which naively went to Beijing--all of this was just a case of a "blind man lighting a lamp--a waste of a candle"! What Deng Xiaoping is saying today is very clear: "You can say what you want," but the "policies set" by the Chinese Communists have for a long time been "firm and unshakeable," and you can shout and put forward opinions about what the future should be, but it is all for the "self-satisfaction" of the Hong Kong people" and will not help matters!

Second, the Hong Kong people finally understand that the Chinese Communists never really took their opinions into account. This is because Deng Xiaoping very self-confidently said: "No matter how many people understand these policies, principles and stands, I believe they suit the interests of the 5 million people." That is to say, you Hong Kong people are the "common herd" and the Chinese Communists represent your interests whether you understand them or not! Perhaps the Hong Kong people do not know that the Chinese Communists in the past on the mainland with regard to everything they did had their leaders say that it "represented the fundamental interests of the hundreds of millions of the masses of the people"? Now, it is logical behavior in accordance with their perpetual self-confidence.

Third, proceeding from the abovementioned logic, the Hong Kong people finally understand that to this day the Chinese Communists do not heed differing opinions. Deng Xiaoping said: "I hear many opinions, but I don't agree that

they represent the interests of the 5 million people." This says that whatever accords with the "firm and unshakeable" policies and principles set by the Chinese Communists he agrees with, whatever "differs" with the "opinions" of the Chinese Communists is not qualified to represent the "interests of the Hong Kong people" and is all "nonsense"!

However, there is a point here where Deng Xiaoping is unconvincing, namely, in his claim to understand already the popular will of Hong Kong. One may ask how did you come by this popular will? Since there is no single person's opinion that is qualified to represent the opinion of all the Hong Kong people, how it is that the popular will that you know is the truest popular will?

Fourth, Deng Xiaoping said very clearly that the problem of Hong Kong is a problem that "must be solved with Britain," a matter for high officials! The Chinese Communists will not brook "any interference." That is to say, excluding the British government, all the "commotion" made by the Hong Kong people is, as far as the Chinese Communists are concerned, an "interference," which they will really ignore. May we ask: What are the Hong Kong people to do?

Now, looking back on the previous discussions and rushing about of certain well-intentioned Hong Kong people, we see that it was likeable naivete: all their hard effort was just "labor to no effect" and basically was not heeded by the Chinese Communists!

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MELD OF THREE SOCIAL SYSTEMS IN CHINA URGED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese 1 Jul 84 p 10

[Article by Zhih Min [5268 3046] of Thailand: "One Country, Three Systems"]

[Text] Because of the results of historical evolution, in the land of China there has been formed three areas with different social systems: one is the China mainland, in which a socialist system under a one-party dictatorship is practiced; one is Taiwan, in which a system of the three principles of the people under a one-party dictatorship is practiced; and the other is Hong Kong and Macao, in which a western-style system of free capitalism is practiced. This situation is the result of the tragic evolution of modern Chinese history.

A tragedy does not necessarily have a tragic ending. Many tragedies of China have had the happy reunion of a comedy's ending. Is it impossible for this tragedy being continually performed in Chinese history to have in the future the happy reunion of a comedy's ending?

We know that for tragedy to be changed into the happy ending of a comedy, the process of developing the plot should be natural and there must not be harsh changes. If the plot does not conform to the evolutionary process of natural development and there are harsh changes, the results are sure to be bad. How can the evolution of a country's present social system also not be like this? If conditions are not ripe, to enforce changes in the system rigidly will result in doing bad things with good intentions and making a mess of things. Over the past several decades, it seems that China has had many experiences and lessons in this respect. For example, after the New Democracy had been practiced for only a few years on the Chinese mainland, the Chinese Communists could not hold themselves back from carrying out a socialist transformation. The changes were too fast and too violent and did not suit the natural requirements for development of the productive forces of society, but on the contrary to play a decelerating role and sabotage the development of the productive forces of society.

Taiwan is China's territory, and on this point no Chinese permits dissent. The vast majority of Chinese hope that China will be unified and hope it will not remain divided for a long time, and even more hope that the Chinese will not mutually slaughter themselves. However, Chinese not only hope that China will be unified, they even more hope that China will have a good government, which

will put into practice a political system that will develop the country and benefit the masses of the people. In modern China many patriotic figures have made many attempts to reform China's political system in order to change its state of poverty and weakness, and these reforms are still being made.

Now, on China's land there exists at the same time the above-mentioned three social systems. We can regard this situation as three experimental plots on which, after a fairly long time, we can see which plot was cultivated better and which one had the better harvest, which plot had the worst conditions for experimentation and the smallest harvest. As to what system is suitable for China's national condition, it has always been a case of "you say you are in the right and he says he is in the right," and a generally acknowledged conclusion has not yet been made. And this kind of debate, which only depends on theory, cannot compare favorably with the facts obtained over a long period of time in practice, which are more convincing and more practicable and believable.

There is a possibility that there will be produced in China a new doctrinal system different from any of the above-mentioned three doctrines. Because these three doctrinal systems in the course of their practice have each manifested strengths and weaknesses, people can adopt the superiorities and reject the inferiorities among the three and sum up the superiorities into a better doctrinal system.

This writer hopes with all his heart that when we Chinese consider the important affairs of state we do not proceed from the interests of a faction, but rather are able to proceed from the interests of the country and the nation and the masses of the people, in considering and handling the country's problems. If the leaders of the Kuomintang and the CPC are able to do this, satisfactory solutions of the problems of China's unification, system, development of the country and national rejuvenation can be obtained.

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BEIJING URGED TO FACE UP TO UNPOPULARITY OF COMMUNISM

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese 1 Jul 84 pp 13-14

[Article by Cang Song [5547 2646]: "It Is Time To Speak the Truth"]

[Text] Hong Kong's future has already been settled, and even if councilmen go to Beijing and London 10 more times, they cannot change the fact of the Chinese Communists' taking back Hong Kong. Beijing keeps on saying that its takeback of Hong Kong's sovereignty conforms to the wishes of the Hong Kong people, the great majority of whom approve of Hong Kong returning at an early date to the embrace of the motherland. It is a pity that once the subject of Beijing's taking back Hong Kong is brought up, the people of Hong Kong are so deathly afraid (but there is no alternative)! This is nothing more than the biggest in the world.

The Admirable Councilmen

The members of the two councils [executive and legislative] are the heroes of the Hong Kong people. As everybody knows, with their cause and their ability there absolutely is no question of their emigrating to another country. They could have been "good people," who were worldly wise and played safe, or glib politicians, but, clearly, knowing that they were not elected by the people, they nevertheless did not hesitate to fault the two governments and say what the great majority of the Hong Kong people wanted to say. We wholeheartedly thank them!

In another aspect, the British government keeps on saying that it has a moral responsibility for the Hong Kong people, but it completely disregards their wishes and does not give the millions of people who do not want to live under a Communist regime the choice of keeping their freedom, and with both hands delivers them to a Communist regime they absolutely do not want to live under. The governments of the two countries both assert that they speak for the Hong Kong people, but each, for reasons of its own interests and "fact," is deathly afraid of the suggestion that all the people vote to express the popular will and self-determination.

If the councilmen had hoped that they would be able to go to Beijing and change any views or stands of the Chinese Communist leaders, this, it can be affirmed, was impossible. That Beijing has welcomed them at present is because the

councilmen still have utility value. Frankly speaking, if a common man on the mainland expressed the same views as the councilmen, if he were not executed by shooting at the least he would be imprisoned for 30 years! if one is clear about this point, one will know what state of mind the councilmen had in Beijing.

Even if Beijing repeatedly professes that it welcomes opinions from all sides, one can know by looking at the "leftist newspapers" and RENMIN RIBAO how much, in the final analysis, it listens to opposing opinions. For more than 30 years, the communists, for a doctrine and principle, have made China "poor and blank," and people with the slightest intuitive knowledge have felt heart pangs, but the communists themselves are absolutely unrepentant. So how would they change their principles because of a few sentences from the councilmen?

#### Double-faced "Cultural Persons" and Politicians

If communism were able to bring prosperity to the Chinese people, then the Hong Kong people would not be in such fear and trepidation before 1997. The communists often say that the people's eyes are discerning. Just think, if Hong Kong's sovereignty were handed over to Australia, Canada, Japan or Singapore, would there arise among the Hong Kong people, with their discerning eyes, a so-called "problem of confidence"? This question is worth pondering by the communist party, which keeps on saying that it is concerned about the people.

The worst thing now is that not many persons are willing to speak from the bottom of their hearts. Some people are not in the mood for thinking about this matter because of the way they live; some think that it is no use to talk; and even more think that the only way to survive is to say flattering words that the rulers like to hear. The result is that people do not have the slightest sense of belonging and sense of pride in their own country, and the hearts seeking private gain in the ribs of people are deeper than those of people in capitalist countries. On the Chinese mainland, many communists themselves in private admit that communism basically doesn't work, but they would rather find ways to arrange for their own sons and daughters to leave the country or get a good job, and they definitely will not put forth their own views and reflect their own true attitudes to the CPC.

In Hong Kong some so-called "cultural people" are more shamful than politicians. They are not unwitting about the nature of the communist party, and therefore, they long ago paved the way for their sons and daughters to emigrate, but on the surface they pretend to be turning to the left, and try with all their might to whitewash the communist party's policies and create a tranquil scene. There are really many slippery persons of this type.

The Chinese Communists have a good record of complying with the agreements or treaties they have signed with foreign countries, and it is a pity that their methods of ruling their own people makes those who hear about them tremble with fear. For foreigners Hong Kong's problem is a matter of indifference, because only the Hong Kong people will directly and personally suffer. What is most unpopular about the communist party is that it can make unpredictable

changes in its policies, and with regard to its promises to people its measures and attitudes before it has gotten what it wants and after it controls people are poles apart. Many people have returned from abroad filled with righteous ardor for the country only to find their families ruined or dead. How can this make the Hong Kong people believe in your communist party?

#### The Chinese Communists Must Have a Measure of Tolerance

Another thing that is unpopular is the measure of intolerance for those that hold different political views (even opinions). They are either imprisoned or killed or, what is more cruel, they don't necessarily kill you but make it impossible for you to seek life and so you must seek death. Millions of Hong Kong people have experienced this and also know it well, and they think of it with unforgotten trepidation. Then, will the Chinese Communists in the future permit the Hong Kong people to "be unruly in word and deed"? No matter how detailed "agreements" and "small constitutions" are written, it will be very difficult for us to feel reassured. After 1997, particularly after Taiwan is taken back, once it is heard that the "Hong Kong people strongly demand" something, the detailed constitution and guarantees can be turned into more scraps of paper overnight, and at that time what will become of you? For more than 30 years, the communist party has promised so many guarantees to the people, with results that are obvious to everybody. In fact, at present many communists themselves worry that after Deng Xiaoping's death, the policies will again change, and they worry that they themselves at that time might be again denounced and overthrown. Is it strange that the Hong Kong people are "extremely skeptical"!

Speaking of "representing the popular will" is a game the communists do best at. Do you say that the Hong Kong people do not welcome the communist party? Very well, the party can mobilize overnight more than 100,000 functionaries and trade union members of leftist organizations each to write a "letter welcoming the reversion of Hong Kong to the motherland and endorsing the takeback of Hong Kong's sovereignty." The "popular will" is expressed! The Free World does not have a single government with this organizing power, and even less has any one official who would dare to boast unabashedly that he could represent the people. The likeability of the Hong Kong people lies in their true ego in not being intimidated by government. Therefore, even if one day there is truly a vote held by all the people, perhaps it will be necessary to have a method of controlling the communist party's invisible influence before the people will be able to express what is at the bottom of their hearts!

For the communists there is no occasion when they do not get angry at speeches or articles with different political opinions, and they make threats like "reactionary" and "in the future we will kill you." Facts prove that the countless speeches and articles with views characteristically different from those of the Chinese Communists were extremely beneficial and constructive for the country, the nation and even the communists themselves. To strike in a frenzy at and persecute people with characteristically different political views has made the 1 billion Chinese people sing one tune, and the people can only mechanically speak words of flattery and have completely lost their capacity to think independently. This has many real conveniences for the communist party rulers but is unfortunate for the country.

Around 1949, people loathed the Kuomintang and welcomed their early liberation by the communist party; today, after 35 years, the Hong Kong people would be willing to hand over control to a non-communist side (if they were able to have this election) and do not want the communist party's guarantee about 50 years of no change. This question is extremely worthy of self-criticism and pondering on the part of the Chinese Communists leaders. If the communists were able to think about it well, they would ask themselves: why is it that the life and well-being of the people of the Free World is so much better than those of the people under socialism? Who do the liberated Chinese people, and even the party members themselves, universally long for the life of the common people under capitalism? Why do the rulers of capitalist countries not fear attacks and opposition by the people? Why do the rulers not retaliate against those who oppose them, and yet their regimes are more stable? Why do the great majority of the toiling masses in Hong Kong who live in wooden shacks not want to be "liberated" by China? If the communists were able to face the above-mentioned facts calmly and thereby throw off the dogmas of their doctrine and principles and liberate themselves, might that not be a blessing for the Chinese nation!

In brief, if it wants to get the confidence of the Hong Kong people, Beijing itself must first of all have a measure of tolerance and be sure not to fly into a rage over political views that do not suit it. It should know that the expressions of view in these "leftist newspapers" and "crypto-leftist newspapers" really spoil the appetite of the Hong Kong people! All the political views in this article are incisive. Will the communists have the breadth of mind and tolerance to read them?

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CAUSE FOR HONG KONG'S OPTIMISM AFTER 1997 SEEN

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese 1 Jul 84 p 14

[Article by Xiao Gu [0876 6253]: "There Is No Need To Be Pessimistic"]

[Text] One article in the Chinese Communists' policy for Hong Kong is: for 50 years after 1997 there will be no change in the system. Many people doubt this, and so they do not dare to be optimistic. My view is that in 50 years the situation on the mainland could change, and therefore there is no need to be pessimistic.

By that time there could be no difference between capitalism and socialism, and also no difference in the level of economic life, and therefore China and Hong Kong would be "united into one," and of course the slightest marks of either on the other could not be seen. Is this "idiotic nonsense" or not? Not at all. Haven't you seen capitalist countries practicing social welfare and also centralization and even nationalization? Haven't you seen socialist countries practicing individual farming and private enterprise? Each negates the other side but each studies the other side. This is the trend of history, and more and more people will see it. The future of the world is bright, and the future of Hong Kong is also bright. The people of Hong Kong should really be somewhat more optimistic.

I think that in the present environment we really need by all means to avoid differences and encourage the seeking of common ground, avoid division and maintain unity. To deny that the great majority of Hong Kong people have misgivings about the future, or to make leaving Hong Kong and emigrating the way to solve the problems, are both unrealistic approaches.

Just as (Geoffrey) Howe [British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs] said, in the world there is no guarantee that is absolutely reliable. I fear the guarantees now given to the Hong Kong people by China and Britain are like this, and to ask for more is unrealistic. The Hong Kong people should cast aside all misgivings, stand up and show the whole world their own strength and worth, on the one hand promoting China's "four modernizations" and on the other hand creating a worthy economy for China--this is a more magnificent goal than preserving the status quo; and this is precisely the kind of Hong Kong that China is pinning its hopes on, and it definitely does not want to see Hong Kong's vitality disappear day by day and become a counterproductive "take-back."

DENG'S TOUGH ATTITUDE LINKED TO IMPATIENCE WITH HONG KONG

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese 1 Jul 84 pp 9-10

[Article by Fang [2455 2970]: "Why the Chinese Communists Are Afraid of the Voices of the Hong Kong People"]

[Text] Afraid That the Hong Kong People Have Their Own "Representatives"

Zhong Shiyan [6988 1102 0337], Li Guowei [0448 0948 0251] and Deng Lianru [6772 5571 1172], three nonofficial members of Hong Kong's two councils [executive and legislative], on the morning of 23 June were "honored" with an interview in Beijing with Chairman Deng Xiaoping.

From that time reporters were on the scene and Deng Xiaoping had a serious conversation with the three councilmen, we again strongly felt that the Chinese Communists consistently fear the appearance before them of "representatives" of Hong Kong, fear the voices of the Hong Kong people themselves. For example, Deng Xiaoping made clear from the very beginning the purpose and main theme of the interview by giving prominence to the following matters:

1. He only acknowledged the status of the three Hong Kong councilmen as individuals visiting Beijing and clearly negated their status as nonofficial members of the two councils, thereby avoiding any possibility of the suspicion, or misconception, about the "three-legged stool" being produced.
2. He reiterated that the Chinese Communists are the ones who represent fundamental interests of Hong Kong's 5 million people and made clear the "firm and unshakeable" stand and attitude that on the Hong Kong problem the Chinese Communists leave not the slightest leeway for discussion with the Hong Kong people.

In fact, there is only one meaning for his concentration on these two points: The Chinese Communists do not need to talk with the Hong Kong people about any problem; and the Chinese Communists are the true, out-and-out, 100 percent representatives of the Hong Kong people!

There is nothing new in this viewpoint, because at the first sino-British talks the Chinese Communists insisted that only they were qualified to represent Hong Kong and that Hong Kong Governor Edward Youde did not represent Hong Kong, being no more than a member of the British government delegation.

## Chinese Communists Are Irritated Because Hong Kong People Do Not Recognize Identity With Them

However, it is worth pondering the fact that this problem was brought up once again, this time in front of the Hong councilmen. It shows that the Chinese Communists are more and more afraid of the Hong Kong people having their own voice. Why is this?

This is mainly for the following two reasons:

First, the Hong Kong people all along have not recognized their identity with the Chinese Communists. Of course, the Chinese Communists knew that the Hong Kong people "feared communism," and so they put forward a series of principles and policies, such as "Hong Kong people shall rule Hong Kong" and "the capitalist system will not change for 50 years" in order to set the minds of the Hong Kong people at ease. However 1 year passed swiftly, and this "anxiety" and that "anxiety" were still hanging by a thread; and there were still plans being sent to Beijing for "various classes of people" "to seek rights and interests"--all of these things showed that the malady of "fearing communism" had not been stopped in the slightest. This consistent nonrecognition of identity with the Chinese Communists to the point that the Hong Kong people put up resistance, in the Chinese Communists' view, means that they "won't listen to reason," and the communists are becoming impatient with the Hong Kong people, therefore causing Deng Xiaoping, in his status as the highest policymaker, to say publicly that the Chinese Communists "will not brook any interference." The purpose of his "firm and unshakeable" uncompromising stand was to make the Hong Kong people "know how to behave in a delicate situation."

Second, the Sino-British talks are fast approaching the stage of completion, and the formulation of the "fundamental law" has already been put on the agenda. Actually, the high-level Chinese Communists had already worked out the draft of the "fundamental law" in their minds, and they have done nothing more than pay lipservice to "widely listening to the popular will." However, the Chinese Communists had not expected that the Hong Kong people would actually have so many "opinions" and "demands," raising obstacles on the question of the "fundamental law," with some of the opinions and demands being diametrically opposed to the socialism of the Chinese Communists and being expressed so volubly, so that they were no different from pointing at the Chinese Communists and cursing, a fact which caused the Chinese communists embarrassment. Drawing a lesson from this, Deng Xiaoping tried to make the Hong Kong people "give up any illusions about the matter" by saying that the Chinese Communists' "principles, policies and stands are firm and unshakeable, no matter how many people understand them."

This was the reason that Deng Xiaoping suddenly got tough with the Hong Kong people.

Although he "bore down with the weight of Mount Taishan," the people of Hong Kong still have words they want to say.

Deng Xiaoping declared that he did not agree that the "many different opinions" coming from Hong Kong "represented the interests of the Hong Kong people" and

that only the Chinese Communists are qualified to represent the "interests of the 5 million people."

However, I cannot but "beg to be excused" from receiving many more favors than I expected!

I am a "new arrival" to Hong Kong from the mainland, and I take exception to the Chinese Communists saying again and again that they "represent" the Hong Kong people. I very clearly remember that Mao Zedong many times said that only the Chinese Communists in reality represented the proletariat, and not only the Chinese proletariat but also the international proletariat.

Precisely because he talked big like this, he dared to extol the tyrant Pol Pot, who killed people without blinking an eye, as a "comrade" and labeled Yugoslavia's Tito a "renegade." However, history has already proved what people Mao Zedong, in the final analysis, represented. Today, Deng Xiaoping declares he represents the Hong Kong people. Do you believe it? I believe there are many "fabricated" parts in this declaration.

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END